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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

A STUDY OF THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS OF
TWO SCHOOL BOARDS IN AN ALBERTA COMMUNITY

by



Neville O. Matthews

A THESIS

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "A Study of the Decision-Making Process of Two School Boards in an Alberta Community" submitted by Neville O. Matthews in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



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ABSTRACT

Local school boards occupy an important position in the Canadian scheme of education. They share a joint responsibility with the provincial authority in establishing and maintaining a minimum level of educational service. In addition, they are expected to raise this minimum to a level desired by the local constituency. It is in this area of operation that local school boards are provided with opportunities to exercise leadership to use their discretionary powers in the interests of good education. To what level of educational service should local efforts be directed? What are the desires of the community in this regard? Lack of consensus on the part of the local populace does not relieve the school board of the responsibility of making policy decisions for local education. Sometimes a choice must be made from among alternative courses of action even though it is known that the choice will result in a conflict with some segment of the community. How do school boards arrive at a decisional choice? What are some of the factors that influence the decision-making process?

This study sought to find the answers to these questions through a systematic analysis of empirical data about the interaction between school board members among themselves, among themselves and the superintendent of schools, among themselves and other persons exerting

influence upon them or upon whom they exert influence both within and without the school system.

Empirical data upon which the study is based, were secured from direct observation of the boards of two selected school systems operating within a single community. Interactions among the members at board meetings held over a period of ten months were recorded and analyzed to provide insights into group processes and role behavior. Some of the internal and external variables forming a part of the total situation within which the decision-making process took place were examined and their possible relationships to decision-making behavior were noted.

The findings show that the two school boards, like other school boards studied elsewhere, have a basic pattern of interaction by which they arrive at decisions. The pattern of interaction for making programmed or routine decisions was distinctly different from that for making non-programmed or novel and complex decisions. In the case of the latter, the relative emphasis on acts of orientation is greatest in the initial phase of the process, while the relative emphasis on acts of evaluation and control reach their maximum in the final phase of the process. Concurrent with these transitions the relative frequencies of both positive and negative reactions tend progressively to increase.

The data showed that individual members of the two school boards participated differentially in the decision-making process. Participation differentials appeared to reflect role performance that had consequences of importance to the functioning of the group as well as consequences of importance to the individual performing the role. It was clear that the behavior of board members and their executive officers at policy-determining meetings was guided, to some extent, by what they conceived to be their roles and by what they perceived to be the expectations of others for their roles. Evidence indicated that each board member brought to his office a background of personal attitudes, values and beliefs which, in a way, influenced his own concept of his role. Thus, although they all played their roles as school trustees, each deviated in certain ways from the others.

The school superintendents were found to play key roles in the deliberation of board policies, and the manner in which they structured their relationship with the members of their boards affected not only the process of decision-making but also the decisions that were made.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To the many without whose assistance this study would not have been possible, a debt of gratitude is readily acknowledged. I wish to express sincere thanks to those citizens of the Town of St. Albert who cheerfully permitted themselves to be interviewed. Much of the data and content of this study was dependent on their cooperation and willingness to share information and opinion.

I wish also to express my indebtedness to the board members, the superintendents and the secretary-treasurers of the Roman Catholic Public School District No. 3 and the Protestant Separate School District No. 6, without whose complete and willing cooperation it would have been impossible to carry out the research on which this report is based.

I am grateful to Dr. A.W. Reeves and the faculty members of the Department of Educational Administration for their assistance and guidance during my period of graduate study. To Dr. William D. Knill I would like to express special thanks. His advice, direction and genuine interest in this study were a source of inspiration and encouragement. Finally to my wife, Sheila and family, I acknowledge a debt of deep gratitude for their enduring patience, loyal support and constant encouragement.

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CHAPTER I

I. INTRODUCTION

Administration and Decision-Making

Administration is concerned fundamentally with the attainment of the goals of an organization. "It is the total of the processes through which the appropriate human and material resources are made available and made effective for accomplishing the purpose of an enterprise."¹ The attainment of organizational goals is viewed as requiring the performance of certain tasks which, taken as a group, constitute the administrative process. Central to the performance of these essential and interrelated tasks is the process of decision-making. "Decision-making is at the very heart of the administrative process," says Gregg.² It is "at the very center of the process of administration," repeats McCamy who further emphasizes the centrality of decision-making when he states:

¹American Association of School Administrators, Staff Relations in School Administration, (Washington, D.C.: American Association of School Administrators, 1955), p. 17.

²Russel T. Gregg, "The Administrative Process," in Roald F. Campbell and Russel T. Gregg (eds.), Administrative Behavior in Education. (New York: Harper & Row, 1957), p.274.

The reaching of a decision is the core of administration, all other attributes of the administrative process being dependent on, interwoven with and existent for the making of decisions.³

The need for decision-making is found in all organizations and basic to all decision-making are the questions:

Who makes the decisions? and, How are decisions made?

McCamy states that:

. . . no single individual alone ever makes a decision in administration. He is always influenced by other persons, whether present in person or in spirit, and his conclusion is the result of advice, affection, hostility, fear, admiration, contempt or condescension involved in the complex of human relationships that pervade administration.⁴

Decision-making is thus the process of people acting upon each other towards a conclusion. It is people functioning either as individuals or groups that comprise an organization and it is through them that organizational decisions are carved out, tasks are performed and objectives are reached.

³James L. McCamy, "Analysis of the Process of Decision Making," Public Administration Review, VII, No. 1 (1947), p. 41.

⁴Gregg, op.cit., p. 276.

Educational Decisions

Educational administration requires the making of an endless number of decisions varying in magnitude, in nature and in degree of importance and significance. Decisions in public schools are made within a broad legal framework of decisions already made by provincial legislatures. While provincial authorities enforce minimum standards, provide financial support, contribute a measure of leadership and exercise a degree of control over education, they also delegate a considerable amount of responsibility for school affairs within each community to local authorities, namely local school boards. These local boards are legally constituted; and although they are elected and function locally, they are, in law, "administrative agents for effecting provincial control of education."⁵ They bear the responsibility of making policy decisions relating to education within their respective jurisdiction, but no decision can be made contrary to or exceeding the powers granted by the provincial legislature. It is generally considered that the primary function of a school board is to recognize, consider, debate and finally decide

⁵T.C. Byrne, Design and Structure in Canadian Education, The Alberta Journal of Educational Research, III(March 1957), p.31.

on issues that confront it. When a decision is reached, policy is made. "Policies formulated by such school boards have the force of law and constitute part of the legal framework within which they operate."⁶

School boards are therefore in positions of strategic importance. Together with their executive officers and staffs they develop policies intended to guide school systems in achieving predetermined goals effectively and efficiently. Each year these officials make decisions involving millions of dollars, affecting the lives and careers of generations of children and ultimately shaping the future of the nation. The consequences of these decisions are of such vital importance to citizens both individually and collectively, that scholars and those directly or indirectly involved in educational decisions, have recognized the need for an increasing number of empirical studies of the process by which decisions are made.

II. THE STUDY

Purpose of the study

The purpose of the study was: (1) to examine and describe the behavioral patterns that were manifested in

⁶P.F. Barga, "The Legal Basis for Administrative Decisions," Canadian Education, XV(September 1960), p.43.

the process of decision-making as it took place in two school boards (public and separate) operating in a single community;⁷ (2) to determine how significantly interpersonal relationships between board members affected the process through which the boards determined policy as well as the actual outcome of the deliberations; (3) to determine how significantly the relationships between the superintendents and the board members individually and collectively affected the deliberative process and its actual outcome; (4) to determine how significantly extra-board influences and the relationships between board members and perceived "influentials" in the community affected the deliberative process on a particular issue and its actual outcome.⁸ In this connection the investigation endeavored to find the answers to such questions as: Who or what group or groups sought to influence the ultimate decisions reached by the school boards and with what result? Were

⁷The Alberta Act of 1905 recognizes two main denominational groups, Protestant and Roman Catholic. Under certain conditions the minority religious group is granted permission to set up and operate a Separate School District which covers the same attendance area as the Public School District, enjoys the same rights and privileges as the latter and is entitled to its share of provincial educational grants and local taxes.

⁸An "influential" is a person, group, or organization which initiates alternatives or vetoes proposals of others in the settlement of an issue.

all the sources or centers of influence impinging upon the two school boards distinct and discrete, or were there some influences common to both? Which groups concerned themselves with which type of educational decisions and with what effect? The assumption was that influence patterns exist, that each issue had its partisans whether internal (to the board) or external or both, and that every issue was decided in a context of power relations.

To answer the questions posed above, it was necessary to discover the patterns of interpersonal relations that existed between board members themselves, between board members and their respective superintendents, and between board members and perceived "influentials." Having done this, it was necessary to examine and describe the role played by each individual or group in policy determination.

The Need for the Study

Most of the studies on school board decision-making in a context of community power relations have been carried out in the United States. To the best of the writer's knowledge, no attempt has been made in Canada to study the effects of interactive forces both internal and external to a school board, upon the deliberative process, and the contribution of these influences to the final outcome.

Furthermore, there is a need to test means that may be available to a practicing school administrator to determine these influences other than drawing inferences from occasional significant remarks made at board meetings. If educational administrators are to provide the dynamic leadership that their office demands, if they are to be capable of interpreting properly the wishes of the people and in turn able to represent the needs, aims and purposes of education with clarity and effectiveness, then one of the abilities that a successful superintendent of schools must possess is the skill to perceive the "influentials" in the community who have the power to affect policy determination.

Delimitations of the Study

The research was a one-man study of two school boards (public and separate), operating in the same Alberta community. Extra-board influences were analyzed in the light of one major issue (the school site issue) which had been under discussion over an extended period of time and was settled during the period of the study. Observation at school board meetings commenced with the first meeting of the newly constituted boards for the ensuing year, and ended with the settling of the "school site" issue.

No attempt has been made to generalize from the findings of this study. It was felt presumptuous to attempt any degree of generalization on the basis of a study of just two school boards. This study might, however, serve in some way to stimulate further community-school board studies in Canada, and to provide some insights into the interactive influences, both external and internal, that affect policy determination by an authoritative body.

III. RELATED RESEARCH

An examination of the literature on educational decision-making at the local community level revealed that research studies tended to focus attention on three broad areas of investigation: (1) patterns of community participation and community power structures; (2) school board-superintendent relationships; and (3) group processes in decision-making. An overview of some of the research conducted in each of these areas follows, with emphasis on those findings and methodological techniques most directly relevant to this study.

Community Participation

A series of research projects dealing with different aspects of community life were conducted by the Institute

for Community Studies and the School of Education at the University of Oregon. Surveys were made of selected communities and the data collected were analyzed by researchers to determine the extent of public participation in local educational affairs, socio-economic characteristics of voters and non-voters, and relationship between individual attitudes towards public schools and voting behavior.⁹

Data examined by Foskett appeared to suggest that individuals:

. . . who turn out to vote in school elections are individuals who have discussed the issues, who have a responsible stake in the community and who are representative of various points of view both relative to the community and to the schools.¹⁰

These studies also revealed that only a relatively small minority of citizens actively participated in

⁹Robert E. Agger, "The Politics of Local Education: A Comparative Study of Community Decision-Making," Oregon School Study Council Bulletin, Vol.IV, No.10, (Eugene, Oregon: University of Oregon, 1961), (Mimeographed.); John M. Foskett, "Characteristics of Voters and Non-Voters in School Elections," Oregon School Study Council Bulletin, Vol.III, No.2, (Eugene, Oregon: University of Oregon, 1959), (Mimeographed.); William D. Knill, "Who Censure The Public Schools?" Oregon School Study Council Bulletin, Vol. IV, No.9, (Eugene, Oregon: University of Oregon, 1961), (Mimeographed.)

¹⁰John M. Foskett, op.cit.

educational affairs at the local level. Generalizing the findings of other studies in this regard, and extending the generalization to his own study, Barnes concluded that the general public tended to be quite removed from the policy forming process; and in fact, larger segments of the public failed to exercise their franchise in local electoral matters.¹¹

Community Power Structures. Recent years have witnessed a significant resurgence of interest on the part of political scientists and sociologists in the study of community power structures and decision-making. Although earlier interest was aroused by the work of the Lynds and Mills, research material in this area remained meagre until the publication of Hunter's study of Regional City in 1953.¹² Since then, a growing number of empirical studies have been reported.

¹¹William D. Barnes, "A Study of Informal Group Activity within a Community's Educational Arena," (unpublished D.Ed. thesis, University of Oregon, 1961).

¹²Robert S. Lynd and H.M. Lynd, Middletown in Transition, (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1937); C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956); Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953).

Three methods of approach to the study of community power structures have received wide attention. The earliest approach, based on "position," involved the study of a single set of influentials selected on the basis of their official status in the community's institutionalized economic, political and civic structures, who allegedly made all the community's important decisions.¹³ Adherents of this method contend that the making of crucial power decisions are generally the domain of these individuals who occupy the top positions in major business, finance and industry and who are the "ruling elite" of the community.

A second approach, attributed to Hunter, challenged the formal institution-association concept of the "positional" approach, and turned the attention of researchers from formal decision-making structures and official decision-makers to informally organized leadership groups. Hunter's study discovered that the power to make policy decisions in Regional City resided not with official holders of governmental positions, as many assumed, but at the discretion of a few big men at the apex of an informal structure of power wielders.¹⁴ Independent contemporaneous studies conducted by Wilson and Merrill

¹³Lynd and Lynd, op.cit.; Mills, op.cit.

¹⁴Hunter, op.cit.

supported the findings of Hunter. They discovered that the official decision-makers in Midway County instead of being predominant, were greatly influenced, and to a large extent manipulated, by the informal power groups who wielded power most effectively in the resolution of civic issues and in the formulation of public policy.¹⁵

Perhaps the main contribution of Hunter has been the quick and relatively inexpensive technique for giving operational form to the central concept of power. The "reputational method," as the technique has been called, has been used extensively in subsequent research. Studies using the "reputational technique," or variations of it, include those of Goldhammer, Pellegrin and Coates, Agger, Schulze and Blumberg, Rossi, Miller, Form and Antonio, Antonio and Ericson, Bonjean, Gourlay and Kimbrough.¹⁶

¹⁵L. Craig Wilson, "Community Power Pressure and Control in Relation to Education in a Selected County," (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, George Peabody College for Teachers, August, 1952); Edward C. Merrill, "Communication and Decision-Making Related to the Administration of Education," (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, George Peabody College for Teachers, August, 1952).

¹⁶Keith Goldhammer, "Community Power Structure and School Board Membership," The American School Board Journal, CXXX(March, 1955), pp. 23-25; Roland J. Pellegrin and C.H. Coates, "Absentee-Owned Corporations and Community Power Structure," The American Journal of Sociology, LXI(March, 1956), pp. 413-419; Robert Agger, "Power Attributions in the Local Community: Theoretical and Research Considerations," Social Forces, XXXIV(May, 1956), pp. 322-331; Robert O. Schulze

Knill reports two studies completed in the Department of Educational Administration of the University of Alberta in which a modified form of the reputational technique was used to locate and classify the leaders of five communities.¹⁷ On the basis of a fundamental list of community leaders obtained for one community, subsequent studies investigated other related topics. These revealed some interesting

and L.V. Blumberg, "The Determination of Local Power Elites," The American Journal of Sociology, LXIII(November, 1957), pp. 290-296; Peter H. Rossi, "Community Decision-Making," Administrative Science Quarterly, I(March, 1957), pp. 415-443; Delbert C. Miller, "Decision-Making Cliques in Power Structures: A Comparative Study of an American and an English City," The American Journal of Sociology, LXIV(November, 1958), pp. 299-310; William H. Form and W.V. Antonio, "Integration and Cleavage Among Community Influentials in Two Border Cities: A Comparative Study of Social Relations and Institutional Perspectives," American Sociological Review, XXIV(December, 1959), pp. 804-813; William V. Antonio and E.C. Ericson, "The Reputational Technique as a Measure of Reputational Power: An Evaluation Based on Comparative and Longitudinal Results," American Sociological Review, XXVII(June, 1962), pp. 362-376; Charles M. Bonjean, "Community Leadership: A Case Study and Conceptual Refinement," The American Journal of Sociology, LXVIII(May, 1963), pp. 672-676; Harold V. Gourley, "Patterns of Leadership in Decision-Making in a Selected County," (unpublished Ed.D. thesis, University of Florida, August, 1962); Ralph B. Kimbrough, Political Power and Educational Decision-Making, (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1964), pp. 52-54.

¹⁷William D. Knill, "Community Decision-Making in Education," The Canadian Administrator, VI(February, 1967), pp. 29-32.

findings. One study found that the teachers in the school system operating within the community appeared to be particularly poor in assessing the local power structure, and were inclined to attribute more power and influence to their school administrators than what they actually possessed. Another study clearly indicated that education appeared to occupy a secondary arena in community affairs, and that the top influentials neither belonged to any school organization nor associated to any significant extent with public school officials. Commenting on this finding Knill suggests that perhaps the education arena has a power structure of its own within which educational decisions might very well be made with little reference to the influence structure of the larger community.

A third approach to the study of community power structures originated with a group of political scientists headed by Dahl, Polsby, Wolfinger, Kaufman and Jones who disagreed violently with Hunter's theory and methodological technique.¹⁸ The criticism was centered on the contention

¹⁸Robert A. Dahl, "A Critique of the Ruling Elite Model," American Political Science Review, LII(June, 1958), pp. 463-469; Nelson W. Polsby, "Three Problems in the Analysis of Community Power," American Sociological Review, XXIV(December, 1959), pp. 796-803; Raymond E. Wolfinger, "Reputation and Reality in the Study of Community Power," The American Journal of Sociology, XXV(October, 1960), pp. 636-644; Herbert Kaufman and Victor Jones, "The Mystery of Power," Public Administration Review, XIV(Summer, 1954), pp. 205-212.

that Hunter takes for granted precisely what must be proved, and that in so doing he predetermines his findings and conclusions. It is alleged, as an example, that he assumes the existence of a power elite when he proceeds to find out what persons in Regional City constitute the small group that makes all the crucial decisions, and that he then proceeds to identify the responsible individuals by asking for a limited number of nominations from people supposedly in the know. On the contrary, Dahl and his supporters claimed that decision-making powers and leadership were widely diffused and specialized. They preferred to focus on concrete issues and the resolution of these issues, to determine who were actually instrumental in effecting a decision in a specific issue area. Although Schulze and Blumberg found that the technique produced substantially the same list of nominated influentials regardless of who did the nominating, the pluralists (Dahl and his associates) pointed out that the validity of the method was questionable on the grounds that the technique identified reputed power rather than actual power and that it presumed members of the power structure to be a cohesive unit.

The controversy over method and theory has included criticism of the issue-analysis approach advocated by Dahl and his associates. Anton criticized the issue-analysis

approach by drawing attention to the fact that Dahl is guilty of doing exactly what he (Dahl) accuses Hunter of doing, namely, involving in his method a set of a priori propositions. He points out, for example, that Dahl, in his study of the power structure of New Haven, assumes that power is best understood in terms of individuals who make decisions and that these men can be understood as basically "rational" men.¹⁹

Both of these contemporary approaches "are variations of the sociometric technique whose use in community studies was presaged by the Lynds," asserts Rossi.²⁰ Both may have limitations that protagonists on either side have failed to recognize. As Janowitz has commented, "If it is wrong to rely exclusively on reputation as a basis for identifying subleaders, it is equally wrong to exclude this dimension completely."²¹ Both techniques are useful in problems of assessing decision-making in public education

¹⁹Thomas J. Anton, "Power, Pluralism and Local Politics," Administrative Science Quarterly, VII(March, 1963), pp. 425-457; Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs? (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961).

²⁰Peter H. Rossi, "Theory and Method in the Study of Power in the Local Community" (paper read at the American Sociological Association, New York, August, 1960).

²¹Morris Janowitz, "Community Power and 'Policy Science' Research," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXVI(Fall, 1962), p. 403.

depending upon the problem and design of the research. Rossi points out that the reputational approach should be effective within the area of education where the "decision-making is more structured," while the "issue-analysis approach is "immensely more productive of insights into the processes of leadership and power," and lends itself well to a "one-man study."²²

In a study completed by Housego, a combination of the two techniques was used to determine the membership of the influence system which surrounded the recent teacher-training issue faced by the Department of Education of the Government of Saskatchewan.²³ His findings revealed that informants and relevant records yielded names of individuals and organizations which either alone would not have supplied; and only those persons and organizations invited to take part in the settlement of the issue were influential and, in fact, exercised power. Housego suggests that the success of the informants in naming most of the individuals and all of the organizations involved in the settlement of the issue was probably due to their being asked to respond to a question related to a specific issue in a specific field.²⁴

²²Rossi, op.cit.

²³Ian E. Housego, "How a Decision Was Made: A Study of the Teacher Training Issue in Saskatchewan," (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1964).

²⁴Ibid. p. 149.

School Board - Superintendent relationships. Recognizing the importance of interpersonal relationships within deliberative groups operating within a social context, administrative theorists turned to the social sciences for basic principles in social behavior which would assist boards and superintendents in the interpretation of their respective roles.

A number of "role" studies have, therefore, appeared in the literature in recent years. Some of these have dealt with school board and superintendent "expectancies."²⁵ The data obtained by Finlay in his study of expectations held by selected Alberta School Boards for the role of their superintendents appear to suggest that school boards expect their superintendents to exercise autonomous control over the instructional program, over the pupils and over non-professional staff. In matters dealing with finance,

²⁵Neal Gross, et al., Explorations in Role Analysis: Studies of the School Superintendent, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1957); Keith Goldhammer, "The Roles of School District Officials in Policy Determination in an Oregon Community," (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Oregon, 1954); Arnold J. Hagen, "An Exploratory Study of the Patterning and Structuring of the Roles Played by School Board Members through a Particular Time Sequence," (unpublished D.Ed., thesis, University of Oregon, 1955); John H. Finlay, "Expectations of School Boards for the Role of the Provincially Appointed Superintendent of Schools in Alberta," (unpublished M.Ed., thesis, University of Alberta, 1961); Lorne D. Stewart, "Analysis of the Role of the Assistant Superintendent in Alberta School Divisions and Counties," (unpublished M.Ed., thesis, University of Alberta, 1961); H. Bell, "Role of the Superintendent in the Small District," Phi Delta Kappan, XLVI(December, 1964), pp. 167-169.

provision of facilities and with the selection and allocation of the teaching and supervisory staff, they expect their superintendents to act in an advisory capacity only.²⁶

Keeler, in his case analysis of conflict in school board-superintendent relationships, concluded:

Whatever concept the board member has of the role of the superintendent in theory, this role in practice is narrow and circumscribed. The role compounds negatively with passing time and practice.

A gap exists between roles defined in theory by respondents as compared with role behavior and practice.²⁷

Dykes looks at a board through the eyes of a superintendent and lists the expectations held for board members by the superintendent.²⁸

That there would be conflicting expectations held by these two bodies for each other was recognized by Swanson. At the same time he contends that in spite of these differences they learn to work fairly with one another.²⁹

²⁶John H. Finlay, op.cit.

²⁷Donald S. Keeler, "A Case Analysis of Points of Conflict in School Board-Superintendent Relationships," (unpublished Ed.D., thesis, Cornell University, 1962).

²⁸A. Dykes, "What a Superintendent Expects of his Board," American School Board Journal, CXLV(September, 1962), p. 16.

²⁹Swanson, op.cit., p. 77.

Seeman reported that role definers are not always in complete agreement in their expectations held for administrators, and that frequently, incompatible role expectations were held for an incumbent by individuals within the same group.³⁰ Miklos suggested that:

. . . some lack of agreement on expectations is not only desirable but essential if a social system is to function at all. The existence of variations in role-expectations from situation to situation and within the same situation suggests that this might be an important area for research in educational administration.³¹

To what extent it is possible for an administrator to modify the expectations that a school board or others hold for him has not been subjected to systematic investigation. Some writers suggest that this is possible, and indeed, advocate that administrators attempt to influence the expectations of school boards and to effect a change in the value orientation of board members.³²

³⁰Melvin Seeman, "Role Conflict and Ambivalence in Leadership," American Sociological Review, XVIII(August, 1953), pp. 373-380.

³¹Erwin Miklos, "Role Theory in Administration," The Canadian Administrator, III(November, 1963), p. 6.

³²Roald F. Campbell, John E. Corbally and John A. Ramseyer, Introduction to Educational Administration, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1962), p. 207.

Small group processes. Early experimental studies drew attention to the importance of group atmosphere in affecting the behavior of individuals in groups.³³ More recently, increasing attention has been given to the functioning of small groups with attempts to analyze within-group interaction, and to discover general principles that appear to determine or, at least, affect patterns of interaction of individuals as well as of the group as a whole.

Three experiments conducted by Heise and Miller yielded results which led them to conclude that, "the performance of a small group depends upon channels of communication open to its members, the task the group must handle, and the stress under which they work."³⁴

Research studies of the interaction and decision process in small groups appear generally to place emphasis on the problem that the group faces in establishing equilibrium between the time spent on task performance and time spent on group maintenance. Work in this area of

³³Kurt Lewin, Ronald Lippitt and R.K. White, "Patterns of Aggressive Behavior in Experimentally Created Social Climates," Journal of Social Psychology, X(1939), pp. 271-299.

³⁴George A. Heise and George A. Miller, "Problem Solving by Small Groups Using Various Communication Nets," Journal of Abnormal Psychology, XLVI(1951), pp. 327-336.

group dynamics has led researchers to develop category systems by which defined units of interaction could be analyzed and classified according to content. The most widely used of these systems is that developed by Bales.³⁵ His system of interaction process analysis has been used primarily in studies undertaken with experimental groups in laboratory controlled situations.³⁶

Others have extended the technique, (or modifications of it) to other groups including children at play, committees, family groups, work groups, therapy groups and others, in both laboratory as well as natural setting.³⁷

The results obtained from these studies do not always conform to the results obtained by Bales, whose findings tended to substantiate his theoretical equilibrium model. Talland, for example, applied the observational

³⁵Robert F. Bales, Interaction Process Analysis, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Press Inc., 1950).

³⁶Robert F. Bales and Fred L. Stodtbeck, "Phases in Group Problem Solving," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XLVI(1951), p. 489.

³⁷A. Paul Hare; Edgar F. Borgatta and Fred L. Stodtbeck, Small Groups, (New York: Alfred H. Knopf, 1955), pp. 300-304; 379-463; 473-515.

technique to the study of psychotherapy groups. Results obtained confirmed his hypothesis which stated:

To the extent that such situational variables as membership, composition, motivation, expectancies, task set and conditions of performance differ from those in the laboratory debate, predictions can be made about the areas and directions in which the process of interaction will deviate from Bales's model in other types of group discussion.³⁸

Field studies of school boards in action, conducted by Thomas and Brubacher corroborate Talland's thesis. Empirical data obtained with the use of the interaction process analysis technique revealed that school boards do have a stable pattern of interaction that was distinctly different from the pattern of interaction obtained by Bales for experimental groups and by Talland for psychotherapy groups.³⁹

The same technique applied to a study of patterns of the decision-making process of a school board in California, by Spock, yielded results which indicated that

³⁸George A. Talland, "Task and Interaction Process: Some Characteristics of Therapeutic Group Discussion," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, L(1955), p. 105.

³⁹Michael P. Thomas Jr., "Interaction Process Analysis of Administrator-School Board Relationships," (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin., 1960); John W. Brubacher, "An Analysis of the Decision-Making Process of School Boards," (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Michigan, 1962).

the school board had a definite pattern of interaction in decision-making. However, "there was little relationship between the pattern of decision-making employed by the subject board and the pattern reported in the one other study of school board decision-making discovered."⁴⁰

The research reviewed has provided understanding and insights, varied and valuable, into the dynamics of decision-making at the local level. It has also provided theoretical concepts and methodological procedures relevant to a study of small groups operating within a system of socio-political forces, in the performance of a responsible public function of admitted importance. The next chapter will deal with a closer examination of those theoretical concepts specifically pertinent to the study and which undergird the technique of interaction analysis of small group processes.

⁴⁰Donald P. Spock, "Patterns of the Decision-Making Process of a School Board," (unpublished Ed.D. thesis, Stanford University, 1960).

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL CONCEPTS, HYPOTHESES AND DESIGN OF THE STUDY

I. THEORETICAL CONCEPTS

The behavior of school board members and superintendents in policy-determining sessions has been associated with certain variables that exist as part of the setting in which the decision process takes place. The process is viewed as a function of these situational variables. It cannot actually exist apart from the task to be performed, the setting in which the task is performed, and the people who are involved.

A study of the decision process in administration, therefore, includes a study of the situational factors that directly and indirectly impinge upon the decision-making process as well as the process itself.

Situational Factors

In defining the environmental situation consisting of variables that impinge upon the policy-determination process, it is necessary to include those variables that directly or indirectly affect the social institution involved, together with the individuals that determine policy for its operation. These variables may be found in the community, within the board itself and in the organization of the school system.

In the community, Campbell identifies such variables as:

(1) the number and character of the people; (2) the number and kinds of organizations; (3) the leadership of power structure; (4) the values, beliefs and feelings; (5) the operational patterns or ways of doing things; (6) the degree of homogeneity or cohesiveness; (7) the economic foundation; and (8) the amount of growth change the community is experiencing.¹

In addition to the many and complex extra-organization variables in the community affecting administrative behavior, board members themselves constitute part intraorganization and part extraorganization variables in the total situation. Charters points out that:

Community oriented board members may be estranged from their superintendent and other personnel, but professionally-oriented board members may be estranged from the community they represent.²

While board members are presumably chosen for personal qualifications perceived by the electors to be qualities best suited to the duties they are to perform, each board member brings to his office qualities of personality, professional

¹Roald F. Campbell, "Situational Factors in Educational Administration," in Campbell and Gregg, op.cit., p. 230.

²W.W. Charters, Jr., "Social Class Analysis and the Control of the School," Harvard Educational Review, XXIII (Fall, 1953), p. 282.

attitudes and a value system peculiarly his own. To this extent board members are part of many intraorganization variables affecting policy determining behavior.

A knowledge of the power structure of the community and its relationship to the board is also essential to an understanding of the nature of the policy determining process in a community context. Research in one instance revealed that although every board member maintained that he was not beholden to any group in the community, it was almost invariably true that his selection was, in fact, the result of group action in his behalf. It was further discovered that although school board members felt that they represented the community, a careful examination of their community contacts indicated that they represented only narrow segments of the community.³

Intraorganization variables include, besides personality and personal qualities such as age, sex, educational background, socio-economic status, experience, profession or avocation, status in the community and the like, the structure of the organization and interpersonal relationships between board members and executive officers as well as between board members themselves.

³Keith Goldhammer, "Community Power Structure and School Board Membership," American School Board Journal, CXXX(March, 1955), pp. 23-25.

An attempt will be made to define some concepts which are present in the description of the setting in which decision-making as a form of administrative behavior takes place.

The concept of organization. All administration is said to take place within the context of an organization which exists for the achievement of the institution's purposes. "An organization," says Stogdill, "may be defined as a social group in which the members are differentiated as to their responsibilities for the task of achieving a common goal."⁴

Barnard recognized two generic types of organization, the formal and the informal. He conceives of the formal organization as a kind of cooperation that is conscious, deliberate and purposeful.⁵ It is a structured hierarchy of subordinate-superordinate relationships within a social system. Or as Griffiths put it: ". . . an ensemble of individuals who perform distinct but interrelated and coordinated functions in order that one or more tasks can be completed."⁶

⁴Ralph M. Stogdill, "Leadership, Membership, and Organization," Psychological Bulletin, XLVII(January, 1950), p. 2.

⁵Chester I. Barnard, The Functions of the Executive, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1941), p.4.

⁶Daniel E. Griffiths, Administrative Theory, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1959), p. 77.

"Informal organizations," according to Barnard, "are found within all formal organizations, the latter being essential to order and consistency, the former to vitality."⁷ This system of interpersonal relations forms to affect decisions made in the formal organization, claimed Griffiths.⁸ Some theorists have described informal groupings to be indefinite and structureless, and subject to continual change as new decisions face the formal organization. Others contend that informal organizations have definite patterned structures, and are relatively more permanent than they were previously described to be. However, all are agreed that all informal organizations have in common the altering of the decision-making process of the formal organization.⁹

Relevant to a discussion of organizational structure are the two interrelated concepts of role and influence pattern. These concepts are valuable in providing direction in understanding interpersonal relationships in decision-making as it takes place within a social system.

⁷Barnard, op.cit., p. 286.

⁸Griffiths, op.cit., p. 286.

⁹Conrad M. Arensberg, "Behavior and Organization; Industrial Studies," John H. Rohrer and Muzafer Sherif, (eds.), Social Psychology at the Crossroads, (New York: Harper, 1951), Ch. XIV.

The concept of role. In recent years, the concept of role, which explains the behavior of individuals, either singly or as a class, in terms of expectations held for the positions (or locations) which they occupy in a system of social relationships, has come to hold a key position in the study of administration.

Institutions, in a social system, operate to achieve predetermined institutional goals, through carefully planned coordinated activities on the part of personnel occupying roles or positions in a structured framework of expected functions and responsibilities. Each institution may therefore be conceived of as an interlocking network of roles, and each role as an interlocking network of expectations which define or prescribe the behavior of the role incumbent. A role is a pattern of activities which identifies the formal position of the actor within the institution, or as Linton expresses it, "A role represents the dynamic aspect of status . . . when (the individual) puts the rights and duties which constitute the status into effect, he is performing a role."¹⁰ Greer sees a role as, "the minimum action pattern necessary for holding a given position in a group."¹¹ Trow introduces

¹⁰Ralph Linton, The Study of Man, (New York: Appleton-Century Co., 1936), p. 114.

¹¹Scott A. Greer, Social Organization, (New York: Random House, 1955), p. 22.

the aspect of role perception on the part of the role incumbent when he says, "it is a pattern of activity . . . what a person has to do (or thinks he has to do) in order to validate his eligibility for the position he holds."¹² That is, his behavior in a particular context will be influenced not only by the expectations held for his role by others, but also by his own perception of these expectations.

It must also be observed that human beings, rarely if ever, conform precisely to the patterns of behavior expected of them. Each brings to his role a background of personal individual attitudes, motivations and pre-dispositions which, in a way, intervene between the positional expectation and the role behavior. In the case of a school board, each member will deviate in certain ways, yet each will still play his role as a school trustee. Thus in any situation, normative behavior roles must not be confused with actual behavior roles. To a great extent a board member will probably conform to the expectations of the group, or to the norms of his position or function,

¹²William C. Trow, "Role Functions of the Teacher in the Instructional Group," N.S.S.E. Year book, LIX(1960), p. 33.

but he may also modify these expectations to the extent that he can successfully conduct himself in accordance with his own definition of his role.

Expectations are, therefore, presumed by role theorists to be an essential ingredient in any formula for predicting social behavior. In other words, it may be said that human behavior is, in part, a function of expectations.¹³

The role concept as described above is useful in understanding behavior and was used in the analysis of the data collected. With the aid of this concept it was possible to determine the extent to which the expectations held by certain individuals or groups for school board members guided the behaviors of these trustees and thereby affected the outcome of the deliberative process. It also helped to develop an understanding of the range of acceptable behaviors which trustees expected for each other as well as for themselves as members of the school board. It was thus possible to determine the effects of the interpersonal relations of the members of the board upon the outcome of policy deliberations.

¹³Neal Gross, Ward S. Mason and Alexander W. McEachern, Explorations in Role Analysis, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1958), p. 18.

Influence pattern. No school board operates in a social or political vacuum. Rarely, if ever, is a school board permitted to deliberate in solitude and in complete isolation from the play of social and political forces. On the contrary, its members, the superintendent, other administrative and supervisory staff are subjected to pressures of individuals and groups in the community.

Within this political system, which Dahl defines as "any persistent pattern of human relationships that involves to a significant extent, power, rule or authority,"¹⁴ and which is complex and stable, are to be found roles, endowed with authority, "played by persons who create, interpret, and enforce rules that are binding on members of the political system."¹⁵ Each role or office, as Dahl points out, defines and limits what the incumbent can do, but frequently it is subject to the interpretations of the actor, who, granted the power of discretion, seeks to enlarge the area of legitimacy or zone of acceptance of his office by building new expectations to those already held by other people for it. Actors on the political scene do not act as single units or in isolation from each other. Instead, they interact with one another and in some way

¹⁴Robert A. Dahl, Modern Political Analysis, (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1963), p. 6.

¹⁵Ibid. p. 11.

alter each other's behavior. Put in other words, they influence one another. Dahl defines influence as "a relation among actors in which one actor induces others to act in some way they would not otherwise act."¹⁶

Further analysis of power and influence reveals certain smaller units which provide the essential means for the effective exercise of power and influence. These means are termed political resources and are defined as "the means by which one person can influence the behavior of other persons."¹⁷ These resources may include legitimacy, wealth, status, information, numbers, communications, access to government, the right to vote, sanctions, the threat of force and many others. The number of resources held by an individual or group, the extent to which, the purpose for which and the skill with which they are willing to use them has a significant bearing on behavior.

The Process of Decision-Making

Barnard asserts that the survival of any organization depends on its ability to solve two problems: the

¹⁶Ibid., p. 40.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 15.

achievement of organizational purposes, and the satisfaction of the more immediate needs of its members.¹⁸

Theorizing on the interaction process in small deliberative groups, Bales makes a similar distinction between what he terms adaptive-instrumental problems of the group in the task area, and integrative-expressive problems in the social-emotional area. He hypothesizes that:

. . . the necessity of adaptation to the outer situation leads to instrumentally oriented activity, which in turn tends to create strains in the existing integration of the group. When these strains grow acute enough, activity tends to the expression of emotional tensions and the reintegration of the group. While integration is being achieved, however, the demands of adaptation wait, and activity eventually turns again to the adaptive-instrumental task.¹⁹

Bales' theoretical framework is based upon the recognition that "the interaction system is distributed in time and between persons and is in contact with a situation which is a constant source of problems."²⁰

¹⁸Barnard, op.cit., p. 60-61.

¹⁹Robert F. Bales, Interaction Process Analysis, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Press Inc., 1951), p. 10.

²⁰Ibid., p. 61.

Faced with these problems that disturb the moving steady-state of the system, he hypothesizes that the group tries, through a sequentially related series of phases in the problem-solving sequence, to cope with the disturbances as they arise, and to tend generally towards tension reduction and the reestablishment of equilibrium. Phases, as referred to in this context, are defined as qualitatively different subperiods within a total continuous period of interaction in which a group proceeds from perception of a problem to solution, from tension to reduction of tension. The functional problems of communication, evaluation, decision, control, tension reduction and reintegration are considered phases in the problem solving sequence.

Thus using the problem-solving sequence as a frame of reference, Bales theorizes that under certain conditions, task-oriented groups tend to move in their interaction from a relative emphasis upon problems of orientation, to problems of evaluation, and subsequently to problems of control, and that concurrent with these transitions, the relative frequencies of both negative reactions and positive reactions tend to increase.²¹

²¹Robert F. Bales and F.L. Stodtbeck, "Phases in Group Problem Solving," Group Dynamics, (eds.), Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander, (New York: Harper and Row, 1960), p. 625.

Bales assumes that efforts to solve problems of orientation, evaluation and control, "tend to lead to differentiation of the roles of the participants both as to the functions they perform and their gross amounts of participation."²² A feature of Interaction Process Analysis seems to be a conceptualization of social and political structure which is seen as an interdependent set of institutionalized roles differentiated from each other along the dimensions: (1) access to resources, (2) control over persons, (3) status in a stratified scale of importance and prestige, and (4) solidarity or identification with the group as a whole.²³ Both types of differentiation, and the pattern of social relationships are theoretically related to behavioral tendencies. Bales states:

The actions of other individuals in the situation are always relevant to the problems of tension reduction of any given individual. It is to the advantage of every individual in a group to stabilize the potential activity of others toward him, favorably if possible, but in such a way that he can predict it. A basic assumption here is that what we call "social structure" of groups can be understood primarily as a system of solutions to the functional problems of interaction which become institutionalized in order to reduce the tensions growing out of uncertainty and unpredictability in the action of others.²⁴

²²Ibid., p. 630.

²³Bales, op.cit., p. 73.

²⁴Ibid., pp. 65,66.

In summing up the linkage between solution of a problem, the emotional reactions induced, and behavior, Bales concludes:

. . . thus as we conceive the process, a series of changes in the social emotional relationships of the members tend to be set in motion by pressures arising initially from the demands of the external problem or outer situation. As they grow more acute, these social emotional problems, as well as the task problems, tend to be expressed or dealt with in overt interaction.²⁵

Summary

The intent of the foregoing discussion was to present some of the basic concepts and theory that have guided the formulation of the hypotheses that follow. The study is concerned with the process of decision-making as it takes place in a particular type of problem-solving group, the school board. The deliberative process leading to a decisional outcome, it is hypothesized, is affected by factors associated with two problems faced by a problem-solving group: (1) problems resulting from the responsibility of the group to its external environment and (2) problems resulting from the process of interaction itself. Theorists maintain that in the face of the disequilibrating forces

²⁵Bales and Stodtbeck, op.cit., p. 630.

generated by these problems, groups automatically strive to restore equilibrium by adjusting to these external and internal pressures. Studies have indicated that defining the roles of individuals in the problem-solving process must be accomplished against the backdrop of situational variables impinging upon the process and the functional problems of orientation, evaluation, decision, control, tension-reduction and reintegration which are functionally inherent in the interaction process. These factors are hypothesized to be determinants of behavior, and behavior patterns associated with these factors may differ markedly from individual to individual and from group to group.

It is necessary, therefore, to understand the relationship of the individuals in the group to variable factors existing in the situation in which they operate, their perception of, and their orientations to the tasks they have undertaken to perform, their relationship to the people with whom and for whom they work, and their roles as defined by expectations they hold for themselves, and by what they perceive to be the expectations held by others for them.

II. BROAD GENERALIZATIONS AND HYPOTHESES

As a guide to the collection of data, and as a preliminary to the research design the following broadly stated generalizations and hypotheses were advanced:

1. The political, social and economic beliefs held by board members play a part in the decisions they make at board meetings.

2. Though theoretically held as representing the community and reflecting community norms, values and aspirations, board members in practice develop attitudes towards certain educational issues through relatively limited contacts in the community:

(a) their own children, if of school age.

(b) individuals who are in some way involved in school issues in the community.

(c) influentials in the community accorded political status or having political power.

(d) significant others.

3. There is a basic pattern by which school boards arrive at decisions. They have one distinct pattern for making "programmed" decisions, and another distinct and

separate pattern for arriving at "non-programmed" decisions.²⁶

4. The way board members behave at policy-determining meetings is affected by what they perceive to be their role, and by what they perceive to be the role expectations of others for them.

5. The way the superintendent behaves at policy-determining meetings is affected by what he perceives to be his role, and by what he believes to be the way others think he should behave.

6. The role behavior of the superintendent will depend upon the status accorded him by the members of the board, as well as the status held by individual board members.

III. DESIGN OF THE STUDY

In this study, an attempt is made at a comprehensive investigation of the decision-making process as it takes

²⁶"Programmed" decisions are defined as those decisions related to problems that recur often enough to permit the development of routine and structured procedures for handling them. "Non-programmed" decisions are those associated with novel and complex problems for the solution of which the group has no established previously-tried techniques. See Herbert A. Simon, The New Science of Management Decision, (New York: Harper & Row, 1960), p. 5.

place in a school board situation, and to examine some of the many variables which in some way affect the decision process and influence the decisional choice. For the purpose of this study an examination is made of the variables which are found in the community, within the board itself, in the school district organization and in the interaction process. This four-way approach, although not exhaustive, should provide a preferred way of studying the phenomenon of decision-making which is, in part, a product of the situation in which it takes place.

The variables examined in these four areas are described and their possible relationships to the decision-making process is noted.

The School Boards Selected

Two urban school boards operating two distinct school systems serving the Roman Catholic and Protestant segments of St. Albert, a community in Alberta, were selected for the study. Each board consisting of five trustees elected to office by their respective electoral groups, together with their appointed executive officers, the superintendent and the secretary-treasurer, administers the affairs of the school system over which it exercises jurisdiction.

The purpose in selecting two school boards was to permit, if possible, the identification of situational factors which might explain differences in decision-making behavior of the two groups.

The individuals who formed parts of the population for this study consisted of the present board members of the two school systems, most of the trustees who formed the membership of the school boards in the community since 1957, the two superintendents of schools and the two secretary-treasurers of the school districts, and several individuals who were perceived to be influential in the community.

Techniques Used in Data Collection

Basically two techniques were used in the collection of data for analysis: the personal interview and the observation technique of interaction process analysis as devised by Bales.

The personal interview. A series of formal and informal interviews was conducted with all the individuals who formed a part of the population of the study.

Three interview schedules were prepared for use in connection with the formal interviews, (see Appendix A). Initially the members of the two boards, the two super-

intendents and the two secretary-treasurers were formally interviewed and asked to respond to the questions contained in all three parts of Interview Schedule No. 1.

Part I of the schedule asked the members of each board to identify and rank order the three colleagues whom they perceived to be the most influential in each of five specific areas of board activity. They were also asked to identify and rank order the three colleagues whom they perceived to be generally influential in board activities taken as a whole. Other questions in this part of the schedule sought to obtain such information as would disclose the network of affective relationships (if any) that might have existed within each board.

Part II of the schedule asked the members of each board to nominate persons, in the community, whom they perceived to be influential in community affairs in general. They were also requested to list the names of those whom they perceived (or knew) to have exerted, or to have been exerting an influence designed to affect directly or indirectly the outcome of the site issue.

In asking the members of each school board, the superintendents and the secretary-treasurers to serve as a panel of selected informants it was assumed that they were capable of perceiving influence and power relations. It

was also assumed that they were capable of identifying persons, both within and outside the board, who wielded sufficient power to affect significantly the decision-making process in specific issue areas, as well as in general.

Part III of the schedule elicited personal information regarding the board members. Some of the items were selected to provide a background of information relating to the individual board member's socio-economic status, as commonly defined in the literature. Others were expected to yield information concerning the web of informal relationships within which he carried out his role as a member of a duly constituted, official, policy-determining body.

After having interviewed each of the board members, the researcher sought an interview with those of the nominees who were reputed to be generally influential in affecting decisions on community problems, and/or those known to have exerted active influence, in one way or another, upon the deliberations relating to the school site issue. Persons identified as being generally influential in decisions on community issues, were asked to respond to the items appearing in Schedule No. 2, in turn nominating those they perceived to be generally influential in

community affairs. This procedure was repeated till the number of duplications exceeded the number of new nominations. The purpose of this was to avoid premature closure of nominations. Form and Miller suggest that frequency of nomination is a satisfactory indicant of the reputed degree of influence, and that judges and influentials have shown a high degree of consensus on the choice of key influentials.²⁷

Interview Schedule No. 3 was used in the interviews with those who were identified as having actually wielded an influence in connection with the "school site issue." The objective was to find out who was involved in the issue, how they operated, what ends they had in view, and to what extent their efforts were perceived to have been fruitful. By investigating the personnel involved in a particular issue and their activities, it was possible to compare the composition of the reputedly influential group with that of the group alleged to have influenced the decision-making process related to the "site issue." In this way it was hoped that a combination of the reputational

²⁷William H. Form and Delbert C. Miller, Industry, Labor and Community, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960), p. 526.

approach and the issue approach would provide insights enabling the researcher to account for, in part, the overt behavior observed at official deliberative meetings of the two school boards in St. Albert.

Interaction Process Analysis. In order to study interaction as it takes place in a problem-solving group session, and in order to arrive at generalizations about human behavior and the situation in which it takes place, investigators have developed category systems or methods of content analysis which permit the breaking up of the interaction process into small units, and the classification of each of these units in one of the categories. The most commonly used technique in the study of small-group process is that devised by Bales. His interaction process analysis technique consists of a set of twelve discrete categories which are considered to be mutually exclusive, and "logically exhaustive of all possibilities on its own level of abstraction."²⁸ In other words, every

²⁸Robert F. Bales, "Some Statistical Problems in Small Group Research," Journal of the American Statistical Association, (Washington, D.C.: The American Statistical Association, 1951), XLVI, p. 313.

possible act is regarded as classifiable into one of the twelve categories, and none of the categories is treated as a residual or "catch-all" category.

The twelve categories are briefly described as follows: (1) shows solidarity, (2) shows tension release, (3) agrees, (4) gives suggestions, (5) gives opinion, (6) gives orientation, (7) asks for orientation, (8) asks for opinion, (9) asks for suggestion, (10) disagrees, (11) shows tension, (12) shows antagonism.

The four groups consisting of three categories each comprise the four broad areas of (A) positive reactions (B) answers, (C) questions and (D) negative reactions. The middle area of the system, sections B and C, may be described as constituting an area of task problems, while the terminal sections A and D, form an area of social-emotional problems. The six functional problems faced by an interacting group are represented by pairs of categories as follows: (a) problems of communication (categories 6 and 7), (b) problems of evaluation (categories 5 and 8), (c) problems of control (categories 4 and 9), (d) problems of decision (categories 3 and 10), (e) problems of tension reduction (categories 2 and 11), and (f) problems

of reintegration (categories 1 and 12). Figure 1 presents the set of twelve categories in standard abbreviated form.

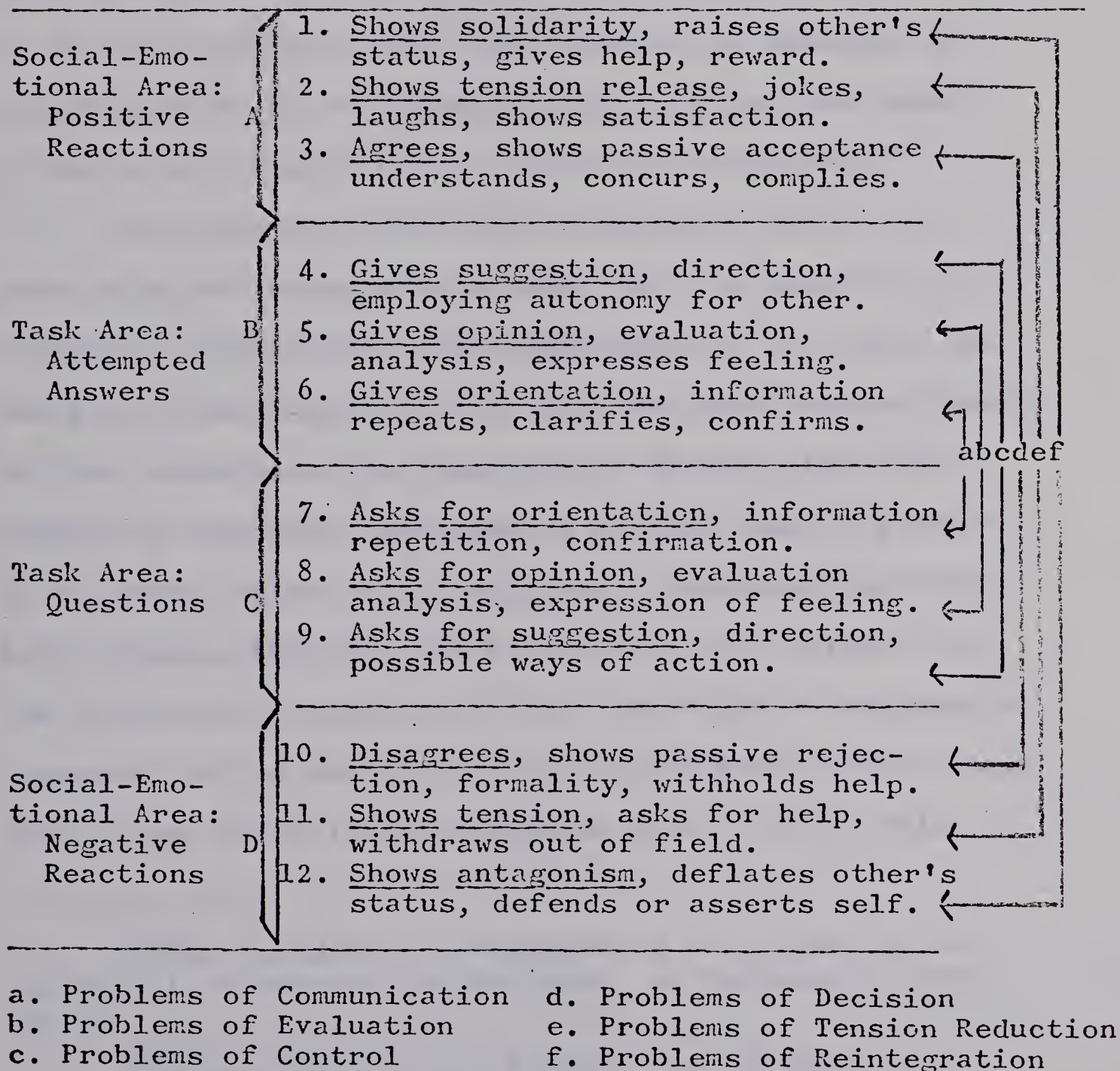


Fig. 1. Interaction process categories defined and grouped by types.

Classification of acts by this system requires the observer to make a minimum of inference. At the same time, however since the categories are described in terms which assume the point of view of the recipient in his reaction to an act directed at him, the observer is expected to empathize with the recipient in interpreting the intent of the actor as perceived by him (the recipient).²⁹

In using the observation technique, then, the methodological assumption is made that the observer is capable of empathizing with each member of the group and can feel towards an act as he (the recipient member) feels. In this connection, the question of whether such role-playing is possible, and whether it also poses a problem of validity, makes itself apparent. To answer the first, Bales states, that the point of view of the "other" is "so similar to the point of view from which we ordinarily apprehend action when we are one of the participants, that there seems to be little confusion about it."³⁰ This

²⁹The recipient or "target" of an act may be an individual, a group of individuals, or the entire group itself.

³⁰Bales, Interaction Process, pp. 39-40,

opinion was empirically supported by the results of an investigation carried out by Thomas, who was interested in testing the accuracy of empathizing done by observers used in his study. He discovered that the interaction categorization recorded by the observers, appeared to "correspond with the judgment of the group members, concerning the import of specific acts, to a surprisingly high degree except in the broad area of negative reactions."³¹

In order to secure the necessary interaction data, the researcher structured his role as that of a non-participant observer. An outline of the study was presented in a letter to the superintendents of schools and the cooperation of their offices and the members of the boards was solicited. Permission was readily given by both boards to attend all board meetings, committee meetings and any special meetings called for specific purposes. As a result twenty-four meetings of the Roman Catholic Public School Board and twenty-nine meetings of the Protestant Separate School Board were attended.

³¹Michael P. Thomas, "Interaction Process Analysis of Administrator-School Board Relationships," (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1960), p. 58.

Once rapport was established and the confidence of the school district officials was gained, interaction between the members of the group proceeded with ease and was uninhibited by the presence of the observer. Detailed notes were made of the interaction in process of official board meetings recording who said what, and to whom, and the time taken to handle each item of business. It was physically impossible to record every word uttered, but at least a representative sampling of the quantitative interaction patterns and the major aspects of the qualitative nature of the discussions were secured. Tape recordings of meetings at which crucial issues were discussed were made wherever possible.

The school boards and officials cooperated further in making available to the researcher records of board minutes, policy statements and correspondence of the past. These were read to obtain a background of problems confronting the board during the period of the study. In addition, copies of the weekly Gazette, a local newspaper, dating back to its first issue in June 1961, were checked for articles, news, views and other features pertinent to the affairs of the two school districts.

Results obtained from applying the methods of investigation described in this chapter are presented and analyzed in the chapters that follow.

Summary

The questionnaire used in the personal interviews to determine the networks of influence within the board and in the community, and Bales' interaction analysis technique used in the observation of board meetings have been described in this chapter. The assumptions underlying these two basic techniques were stated and discussed.

The presence of the researcher at board meetings and committee sessions appeared to have little or no effect on the behavior of the members of the two boards. With the researcher present they were as uninhibited in formal debate as they were in informal discussion during the "coffee break." The apparent loss of self-consciousness on the part of the board members might possibly be attributed to such factors as : (1) the public nature of board meetings and the not-unusual presence of visitors and observers; (2) the regular attendance of the researcher who occupied a specific place at the board table; and (3) the board members' understanding of the researcher's purpose and task through familiarity with research work undertaken in neighboring school systems by university personnel.

CHAPTER III

DECISION-MAKING: SITUATIONAL FACTORS I

The discussion which follows is an attempt to provide some background information regarding the situation in which policy decisions for the school systems in St. Albert were made. The information presented as part of the situation deals only with those aspects of the community which were considered to be helpful in making an analysis of the influences impinging upon the decision-making process. First there is general information about the community and its phenomenal growth within recent years; then the general characteristics of those persons who participated as members of the school boards and as executive officers of these boards are presented; and finally, the setting in which board meetings were conducted is described.

THE COMMUNITY

Population Growth and Community Development

The community of St. Albert has a long historic past beginning with the settling of a few Métis-Catholic families in a fertile river valley. Gradually French Canadian farmers were attracted to the area and by the end of the nineteenth century St. Albert became an established agricultural and

religious center with a population predominantly French Canadian and of the Catholic faith. It was not until about a decade ago that the town experienced phenomenal growth and a radical change in population composition. Population figures jumped from 1,320 in 1956 to 6,880 in the Spring of 1963,¹ with an annual increase of nearly 30 per cent. The Catholic majority of French Canadian descent gave way to an influx of mainly Anglo-Saxon Protestants who, by 1963, outnumbered the Catholic residents by a ratio of roughly 2.4 to 1.

TABLE I
TOWN OF ST. ALBERT CENSUS DATA
1901-1963*

Year	Population	Year	Population	Year	Population
1901	472	1936	811	1958	1947
1911	614	1941	697	1959	2450
1916	655	1946	804	1960	3190
1921	800	1951	1129	1961	4059
1926	684	1956	1329	1962	5249
1931	825	1957	1850	1963	6880

*Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics and Records Clerks' Office, Town of St. Albert.

The rapid growth of the town of St. Albert has been based on its role as a rural community center and as an attractive residential suburb of the large industrial city of Edmonton. The 1950's saw a boom in industrial manufacturing in Alberta. From 1950-1956, one hundred and ninety new manufacturing plants were established, 69 or 36.3 per cent of which were located in Edmonton. The city's population increased nearly 40 per cent while that of the suburbs increased by nearly 70 per cent. St. Albert, during this same period of time, showed a growth of 32 per cent.¹

For a town of its size, St. Albert boasts a large number of organized groups. Among the 84 distinct organizations, and social groupings are: the Community League with a membership of over two hundred, the local and district Chamber of Commerce, the Jaycees, the Lions, the Kinsmen, the Canadian Legion, the Masons and their auxiliaries, the Knights of Columbus, the Home and School Association, the Alberta Teachers' Association Local, the Y.M.C.A., church organizations, youth organizations and

¹Data obtained from Alberta Bureau of Statistics, Alberta Industry and Resources, (Edmonton, Department of Industry and Development, Government of Alberta, 1959), pp. 209-213.

a host of sports, organized recreational and social groups. Patterns of exclusion and preference tend to bring together in groups those of similar interests, aspirations and loyalties.

The population growth trend indicated an influx of young couples contributing, on the average, 0.2 school children per family per year.²

A large majority of the wage earners representing these families were employees of business and industry located outside of St. Albert, and to whose tax support the town was not entitled. Thus, in order to avoid forcing of assessments to a high limit and placing an unduly heavy tax burden on existing businesses to provide the amounts of money requisitioned for municipal and educational services, the administration of the town, with the cooperation of the local Chamber of Commerce and the Edmonton Area Industrial Development Association, embarked on a program of business and industrial development. As a result, twenty-five or more new business enterprises were opened in the new shopping plaza and a two-million-dollar manufacturing plant capable of employing twenty to thirty persons was added.

²Ibid., p. 44.

In recognizing the value of established business and industry to the tax structure of a community, one must not overlook the contribution made by the sizable group of commuting industrial workers and other wage earners to the local economy. These workers, that could conceivably make up at least two-thirds of the employed population of St. Albert, ply their trade or practice their professions outside of the town, and contribute directly to the local economy by patronizing local stores and businesses.

The two major banks in the town report an increasing volume of business each year. In part, the healthy economic situation prevailing in the community may be attributed to the increasing population, but it must be conceded that it also is indicative of a symbiotic relationship of mutual support that exists between the community and local business.

Political Activity and Local Government

Except for a period of five years extending from 1957 to 1962 when, under "New Town" status, the administration was in the hands of a Board of Administrators, St. Albert has always had a mayor-council form of government. Thirteen mayors have been elected to office since its incorporation in 1904 under the provisions of the Town

and Villages Act of the Province of Alberta. All were Roman Catholic by religion and most were of French-Canadian origin. Typically, the mayor came from one of the old established families, was a long time resident in the community, a respected businessman, professional or semi-professional and had spent most of his time in public service and community affairs.

The citizens elect the mayor and six councillors to two-year terms of office, three of the councillors being elected one year and three the next. It is said that elections in the past were non-partisan, each candidate being considered individually and supported on the basis of his willingness to serve, length of residence in the community, the extent to which he was known to the electorate, his kinship connections and his record of past services, if any, to the community. From informal interviews with some of the old-timers, it would appear that up until more recent elections ethnic origin and religious affiliation played little or no part in determining whether one candidate should be preferred above another. On the other hand, it was conceived that individuals accepting nominations were doing the community a good turn.

The recent rapid development of the community brought newcomers representing different ethnic and cultural

backgrounds. New values, beliefs and patterns of behavior were introduced which did not fit into the traditional systems of institutional control. Efforts of established institutions to secure conformity led to a conflict of social values and the emergence of forms of political organization and instruments of political expression designed to affect the traditional system of control in local affairs. Two such forms of political organization were set up, one in 1962 and the other in 1963.

The Civic Electors Association. The Civic Electors Association was formed in 1962 through the initiative of a group of Protestant "Activists" who were concerned about the apparent indifference and lack of cohesiveness on the part of the Protestant group in contrast to the solidarity and active participation of the Roman Catholic group, which allegedly provided the power to influence the outcome of local elections. They therefore, sought to organize a rival group to contest the civic elections of that year.

The plan to create a predominantly Protestant political body through which the political aspirations of the group would find expression proved abortive. Too many of those who did not share the feelings and objectives of the Protestant "activists" joined the association whose membership was

open to all sectors of the electorate. The efforts of the prime movers of the project to organize a group over which they would have effective influence and control failed. Their efforts to build up a core of loyal supporters large enough to either win acceptance from the established leadership, or to challenge it by proposing an alternate slate of nominations met with no success.

The St. Albert Voters Association. The fact that some dissident leaders failed in their efforts to secure nomination or to have their nominations accepted did not deter them from trying again the following year. A second political party was formed in 1963 to sponsor, in an organized way, candidates to contest the election to two seats on the Town Council. This organization, called the St. Albert Voters' Association consisted mainly, if not entirely, of Protestants. Its stated main purpose was to represent those interests either neglected or deliberately ignored by the C.E.A., and to ensure sound civic administration.

The results of the 1963 civic election indicate significant developments in St. Albert. The St. Albert Voters' Association candidates secured the highest number of votes in Grandin Park, a predominantly Protestant neighborhood. They fared almost equally as well as the C.E.A.

candidates in Sturgeon Heights, but were completely overwhelmed at the polls for Mission Part, Downtown and Braeside neighborhoods which have, by far, a majority of citizens who are Roman Catholic. It would appear that voting was split to a large extent on a religious basis. Party lines were beginning to be drawn more and more clearly, and whether they would harden along the lines of Protestant - Roman Catholic identification or eventually cut across ethnic and religious difference would be interesting to observe in the future. However, for the present it would be safe to say that politics in local civic affairs is closely associated or tied in with religious biases and professed ideological loyalties.

Local School Administration

The shifts and changes in population composition created problems not only in the political arena but in the education arena as well.

Since its establishment in 1905 and until 1957, the Roman Catholic Public School District had provided educational facilities for the entire community of St. Albert. At the time the community was still predominantly Roman Catholic, although the proportion of non-Roman Catholics had increased markedly during the five preceding years.

The schools in the district continued to be operated in a religious atmosphere which was distinctly Roman Catholic. Some of the Protestants who were older residents in the community were accustomed to this situation, but others who were newcomers did not take kindly to it. They objected to having their children exposed to secular religious influences in a public school, and appealed to the authorities of the Provincial Department of Education for redress. The Department maintained that the school board was not acting ultra vires and that interference in the matter would prejudicially affect certain rights and privileges guaranteed to denominational schools under Section 93 (1) of the British North America Act of 1867. It was suggested therefore, that the only solution to the problem lay in addressing an appeal to the Minister of Education for the establishment of a Separate School District in the community. Acting upon this suggestion, a general meeting of the Protestant members of the community was called. Legal procedures for the establishing of a separate school district were outlined and discussed. It was pointed out that while the group was still in the minority, it was entitled by law to request the setting up of a separate school system of its own, if the majority of the members of the dissentient group so indicated by vote, at an officially convened meeting. A meeting was held on February 11, 1958 and the

Protestant ratepayers assembled to discuss the proposition and to vote on the issue. Some of the Protestants were not in favour of withdrawing from the public school system to set up a separate school system because they felt that education should not be divisive in nature. They argued that a split in educational facilities along religious lines would divide the entire community into two main camps, each eyeing the other with suspicion and mistrust. This, they felt, would constitute an undesirable and unhealthy situation in a community of the size of St. Albert at the time. Others countered with the argument that St. Albert was developing rapidly and that 75 per cent of those moving into the community were Protestant. It would, therefore, be merely a matter of a few years when the Protestants would be in the majority. They envisaged, that when this came about, the Roman Catholic minority would elect to withdraw from the public school system and set up their own denominational separate school system, leaving the Protestants to carry on with the old buildings and facilities, and large debenture debts incurred for capital expenditures on school buildings that they considered provided far more accommodation than they desired or even needed. The argument apparently appealed to the thinking of the majority present. From the point of view of the advantages that would accrue by taking

the step, the argument appeared to have merit. To be able to plan and build new schools according to their need, to locate them in places of their choice and to be financially responsible only for what they would build and equip was a strong argument in favour of separation. The majority voted to petition the Minister for a Protestant Separate School District. The petition was granted and the St. Albert Protestant Separate School District No. 6 was formed in April 1958.

II. MEMBERSHIP OF THE BOARDS

The School Board Members

The data that follow have been compiled from the information secured in response to Part III of the Interview Schedule No. 1. The profile of the "mean" or "typical" board member was constructed on the basis of the measure of central tendency that best described the situation. In some cases the arithmetic mean was used, and in others, the median. The method of tabulation presented was chosen to facilitate comparisons between the two boards with each other and with the typical Alberta School Board as described by Proudfoot in his study of Alberta

School Boards in 1962.³

Age. Table II presents data relating to the median age of trustees on each of the boards separately and as a combination. The median age for the combined board populations is 45.3 years which is six months less than that for the typical Alberta trustee.⁴ The median age for the Public School Board is slightly lower than the Alberta figure while that for the Separate School Board is slightly higher. It is interesting to note that, when comparing the median age of the present boards with that of the board population covering a period of seven years, the median age of the membership of each of the boards has increased by approximately three years. This can be accounted for, in part, by the long tenure that some trustees have enjoyed, and partly to the apparent tendency to elect older individuals to this public body. The age range in the Public School Board is 30-54 years while that in the Separate School Board is 40-64 years.

³Alexander J. Proudfoot, "A study of the Socio-Economic Status of Influential School Board Members in Alberta as Related to Their Attitudes Towards Certain Common Problems Confronting School Boards," (unpublished Ed.D. thesis, University of Oregon, 1962).

⁴Ibid., p. 80.

TABLE II

MEDIAN AGE OF ST. ALBERT PUBLIC AND SEPARATE
SCHOOL BOARD POPULATIONS

Board Population	Median Age (in years)		
	R.C. Public School Board	Prot. Separate School Board	Combined
1958-1964	43.4 (n = 14)*	49.1 (n = 7)*	45.3 (n = 21)
Present 1963-1964	47.0 (n = 5)	52. (n = 5)	50.5 (n = 10)

*Two members of each board population for the years 1958-1964 were unavailable for interview.

Children in school. The survey revealed that the average number of children of school age in a board member's family was 2.8 for the Public School Board and 1.8 for the Separate School Board. Proudfoot pointed out that the percentage of school board members having children of school age parallels the findings of studies regarding the age composition of the school board.⁵ In this study the members of the two school boards tended to be in the middle forties to early fifties and would in most cases be expected to have children within the age range of public school attendance.

⁵Ibid., p. 82.

Tenure of Office. An analysis of the data (Table III) shows that the median number of months in office as a trustee is low in St. Albert as compared with that for school boards in Alberta. The relative recency of the establishment of the two school districts in St. Albert may very well be a major reason among others for the low tenure for the trustee group as a whole. The wide inter-group difference is, perhaps, more difficult to explain. An analysis of the reasons given by former trustees for their discontinuance in office might shed more light on the problem.

TABLE III
MEDIAN MONTHS OF TENURE OF
SCHOOL BOARD POPULATIONS

Board	Median Months of Tenure
St. Albert R.C. Public School Board (n = 16)	19
St. Albert Protestant Separate School Board (n = 9)	44
*Alberta School Boards	54

*Proudfoot., op.cit., p. 80.

Table IV reveals that nearly fifty-five per cent of the terminated trusteeships in the Public School District were due to transfers out of the district or failure to be re-elected, while nearly forty-five per cent of the cases were due to lack of time or lack of motivation. On the other hand, all of the former trustees of the Separate School District were out of office due to either ill-health or failure to be re-elected. Only one of the four former Separate School trustees resigned before his term of office expired, whereas seven of the eleven former Public School trustees quit while in office-four because of a change of residence.

TABLE IV

REASONS GIVEN BY BOARD MEMBERS FOR
DISCONTINUATION IN OFFICE

Reasons for Discontinuance	R.C. Public School Board		Protestant Separate School Board	
	No. of Members n = 11.	Per cent of Total	No. of Members n = 4.	Per cent of Total
Transfer of Residence	4	36.4	-	-
Pressure of Business	3	27.3	-	-
Failing Health	-	-	1	25.0
Term Expired Did not seek Re-election	2	18.2	-	-
Sought Re-election but was defeated	2	18.2	3	75.0

The method of nomination practiced by the two districts would appear to have some bearing on the turnover rate of trustees. In the Public School District it seemed not to be customary for individuals to seek the office of trustee. In every case individuals were approached personally by either an incumbent trustee or by an elector in the community - frequently a top influential - and persuaded to run for office. The position was usually regarded as an honor or a privilege. Other than giving his consent, the nominee engaged in practically no efforts to secure votes. No advertisements soliciting support appeared in the weekly newspaper, no campaign speeches were made and no active campaigning was carried out. In fact, it was reported that elections were so patently devoid of any form of campaign activity that on one occasion, neither of the two returning candidates nor their nominators were aware of the nomination of the two new rival candidates till close to election day.

By contrast, elections in the Separate School district were hotly contested affairs. Candidates voluntarily offered themselves for nomination by incumbent trustees or by groups that may or may not have shared similar views on how schools should be operated. Election

to office under these circumstances constituted a personal victory to be jealously guarded and diligently preserved as long as possible

Education. Three of the five incumbents on the Public School Board and two of the five incumbents on the Separate School Board reported having attained an education beyond the secondary school level. Distribution by educational status of school board members for the years 1958-1964 is shown in Table V.

TABLE V

DISTRIBUTION OF ST. ALBERT SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS
BY HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ATTAINED
1958-1964

Board	Secondary Level				Post-Secondary Level						
	Junior High	High School	Trade School	Total	University yrs.						Total
					1	2	3	4	5	6	
R.C. Public School Board (n = 14)*	3	6	1	10	1	-	-	1	1	1	4
Prot. Sep. School Board (n = 7)*	1	2	-	3	-	2	-	1	-	1	4

*Two members of each board population were unavailable for interview.

Occupation. The occupation of the school board members as indicated in Part III of Interview Schedule No. 1, were

classified under seven major occupational categories.⁶ With reference to the data contained in Table VI, the combined school boards in St. Albert have 61.9 per cent classified in white-collar occupations, including professional and technical workers, managers and proprietors, clerical and sales workers. This percentage is nearly eighteen per cent higher than the percentage reported for the Province.

TABLE VI

DISTRIBUTION OF ST. ALBERT SCHOOL BOARD
MEMBERS BY OCCUPATION CATEGORIES

Occupation	R.C. Public School Board		Protestant Sep. School Board		Alberta*
	1958-1964 n = 14	1963-1964 n = 5	1958-1964 n = 7	1963-1964 n = 5	1962 n = 98
Professional Managerial & Technical	6	4	4	3	} 44%
Clerical & Sales	1	-	2	1	
Service	-	-	-	-	
Agricultural	1	-	-	-	
Skilled	5	1	1	1	
Semi-Skilled	1	-	-	-	
Unskilled	-	-	-	-	

*Proudfoot., op.cit., p. 73.

⁶U.S. Employment Service, Division of Occupational Analysis, Dictionary of Occupational Titles, (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949), I. p. XXIII.

Income. Income categories were arranged in intervals of \$2,000 and respondents were asked to check off the category within which the total family income (husband and wife) fell. The median for the two groups of trustees was calculated and found to be \$8,000. This figure is higher than the Provincial median as determined by Proudfoot.⁷ If \$8,000 is taken arbitrarily as the point of division for a high income - low income dichotomy, it is found that less than twenty-five per cent of the Public School Board members fall in the high income group as compared with over fifty per cent of the Separate School Board members. An examination of the economic status of the members of the present boards reveals interesting trends. All of the board members of the Public School district, and sixty per cent of those of the Separate School district report incomes of over \$8,000. The present median salary of board members of the Public School district is almost double that for its entire board population since 1958. The median salary of the board members of the Separate School district has remained constant over the same period of time.

⁷Proudfoot, op.cit., p. 76.

Total family income reported by board members
were as follows:-

TABLE VII

DISTRIBUTION OF ST. ALBERT SCHOOL BOARD
MEMBERS BY INCOME CATEGORIES
1958-1964

Income Category	R.C. Public School Board (n = 13)	Prot. Sep. School Board (n = 7)	Alberta* 1962 n = 98
16,000 & over	2	0	
14,000-15,999	0	0	
12,000-13,999	1	3	
10,000-11,999	0	1	
8,000- 9,999	3	0	
6,000- 7,999	1	1	
4,000- 5,999	6	2	
2,000- 3,999	0	0	
Median	6,999	10,999	6,900

*Proudfoot., op.cit., p. 76.

General. Personal interviews discovered that the Separate School Board members tended to maintain active membership in more social, civic, service, religious and recreational organizations than the Public School Board members. At least two trustees of the latter declared that they had previously held active membership in at least one half dozen organizations in the community, but were forced to curtail their social activities as they found that these activities consumed more time than they felt they could afford. Forty per cent of the present incumbents are active members

of at least one professional society or association. All of the trustees are church members. All trustees of the Public School district are Roman Catholic by religion, while those of the Separate School district are distributed among three different Protestant communions--the United Church, the Presbyterian Church and the Anglican Church.

All the trustees interviewed had no difficulty in identifying the influentials in the community. These were individuals they perceived as having the power to sway the opinions of groups that were vocal and carried some weight in community matters. The trustees appeared to be aware of the areas of activity as well as the segments of the population upon which the influentials exerted effective power.

The Superintendents of the Two School Systems

As the two school systems grew in size to provide educational facilities for a rapidly growing population, managerial duties became more numerous and demanded more and more of the boards' time. The tasks involved in curriculum expansion, program development and supervision increased the complexity of educational services considerably beyond that which could be handled adequately and effectively by standing committees of the boards, supervising principals and secretary-treasurers on a part time or extracurricular basis. The services of competent, qualified

administrators skilled in planning, organizing, directing and supervising the educational enterprise, capable of providing the Boards with accurate information and expert advice and of implementing with discretion the broad policies formulated by the Boards were imperative if the school systems were to receive the necessary supervision and leadership. Accordingly, in September, 1963, each of the two Boards decided to create the office of "Superintendent of Schools" to replace supervising principals who were to a limited extent performing the duties of superintendents. The two incumbents were, therefore, the first to be appointed to the newly created positions.

PSB-6, the superintendent of the Roman Catholic Public Schools was recruited from within the system, having served since 1954, first as principal of a twelve grade school and later in the dual capacity of Principal of the Junior High School as well as Supervising Principal of the district. A soft spoken, mild mannered man, he went about his duties with calm deliberation, commanding the confidence of his employers and the respect of his subordinates.

He associated frequently with school board members, principals, teachers, other superintendents and educational leaders. He recognized three members of his board as having considerable influence affecting the decisions of the Board

in many areas in general, and singled out PSB-3 as the one he most frequently consulted on difficult matters confronting the board. The superintendent was well acquainted with the community and was well informed on community affairs. He had resided in St. Albert for the last ten years and was a member of the Knights of Columbus, the Community League and the local Lions Club, in which organizations he had held executive offices. Although he no longer had a part in the administration of the town, he kept in close contact with town officials and sought the advice of the mayor and councillors and other influentials on educational problems involving the community as a whole.⁸ He was cognizant of the patterns of community influence and was easily able to identify the key influentials in the local power structure. His working relationship with his counterpart in the Protestant Separate School system, SSB-6 could be described as mutually cordial and cooperative.

SSB-6 was selected from among six other candidates for the position of superintendent of the Protestant

⁸PSB-6 served as a member of the Board of Administrators of the New Town of St. Albert, 1959-1962.

Separate School system. Prior to his coming to St. Albert, he had taught for eight years in the schools of the Province and had served as a provincially appointed superintendent for a northern school division. As a new resident in the town, he belonged to no club or organization in the community, and associated to a restricted extent with a few chosen friends outside of those directly connected with the school system. On educational issues affecting the community, the only person he consulted to any great extent was PSB-6.

III. SCHOOL BOARD MEETINGS

During the period of observation, the two school boards met at regularly appointed places, at pre-arranged times and dates convenient to all committee members. Whenever an emergency or off-schedule meeting was necessary, the legal requirement of circularizing a notice of the meeting to the board members at least forty-eight hours before the hour fixed for the meeting, or having a waiver of notice of the meeting signed by all the members of the board prior to the meeting, was strictly adhered to.

Since the building of permanent school district administration offices, the School Boards have been meeting

in well-appointed comfortable board rooms. Previous to the erection of the office buildings, one board met in the library of one of the schools in the system, while the other convened in a large room which formed part of the premises rented for office purposes.

The meetings were formal to the extent that proceedings were carried on in an orderly business-like manner, yet informal enough to be natural and to permit free participation in the discussions.

A practice of the two boards was to hold committee meetings following the regular board meetings so as to allow private discussion preceding official action relating to personnel and other problems of a confidential nature. Special meetings were called from time to time to deal with emergency items or to provide time for additional discussion and study of difficult problems.

During the period of observation the Public School Board held twenty-four meetings altogether, eighteen regular and six special. During the same period of time the Separate School Board held a total of twenty-nine meetings, nineteen regular and ten special. An analysis of the meetings conducted by the two boards is shown in Table VIII. The Separate School Board tended to have longer meetings than

the Public School Board, spending fifty per cent more time and transacting a proportionately larger number of items of business.

An interesting difference is observed in the number of visitors attending the board meetings. All regular meetings were open to the public, and adequate provision for accommodation was made by both boards for visitors. In general, the attendance of visitors at board meetings was poor. However, when an interboard comparison is made, it will be noted that the Separate School Board meetings were consistently attended by a relatively larger number of visitors than those of the Public School Board. In fact, over seventy-five per cent of the meetings of the Public School Board had no visitors present; the remaining twenty-five per cent had no more than one visitor present. All the regular meetings of the Separate School Board were attended by at least two visitors and nearly thirty-seven per cent of the regular meetings by ten or more visitors. The visitors were usually made up of the following:-

1. Members of the teaching staff of the school district, some of whom were delegated by their fellow teachers, according to a predetermined plan

TABLE VIII

AN ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC AND SEPARATE
SCHOOL BOARD MEETINGS HELD
October 7, 1963-July 7, 1964

	Public School Board Meetings	Separate School Board Meetings
<u>Regular Meetings</u>		
Number of Meetings	18	19
Total Time in Meetings	52:30 hours	78:02 hours
Average Time per Meeting	2:55 hours	4:06 hours
Longest Meeting	4:05 hours	5:41 hours
Shortest Meeting	1:17 hours	2:16 hours
Total Visitors Attending	4	149
Average Number per Meeting	0.2	7.7
Total Resolutions Adopted	131	189
<u>Special Meetings</u>		
Number of Meetings	6	10
Total Time in Meetings	12:25 hours	24:48 hours
Average Time per Meetings	2:04 hours	2:30 hours
Longest Meeting	3:15 hours	4:30 hours
Shortest Meeting	0.40 hours	1:00 hour
Total Visitors attending	15	24
Average Number per Meeting	2.5	2.4
Total Resolutions adopted	14	19

of rotation, to attend the meetings. The teachers usually formed the majority of the visitors present.

2. Delegations of parents who had a shared request, complaint or representation to make to the Board.

3. Representatives of business, recreational or professional organizations invited by the board to be present, from time to time, for the purpose of providing information, guidance and counsel on specific problems confronting the board.

4. Citizens appearing to have more than just a casual interest in the educational affairs of the district. The number in this category was small.

The Separate School Board took positive steps to invite and encourage attendance of individuals and representatives of community organizations genuinely interested in the promotion of education, by publishing advance notices of meetings in the local newspaper, by mentioning dates and time of meetings in newsletters sent out to parents and other supporters, and by displaying agenda items on the bulletin board located in the lobby of their administration building. Whatever steps may have been taken by the Board to attract the public to board meetings, one fact, nevertheless, seems to stand out clearly: the nature of the items of business listed for discussion appeared to have much to do with the number of visitors in attendance. Individuals seemed to attend board meetings when they related themselves to the issues scheduled for discussion or when they anticipated an imminent decision on a particularly "hot" or contentious issue in which they were either directly or indirectly involved.

The Public School Board, on the other hand neither published nor circulated announcements of its meetings. No teachers appeared at any of the meetings. Any visitors who attended - apart from the newspaper reporter who appeared

occasionally - did so at the request of the board to supply information or counsel pertinent to an issue upon which a decision was to be made.

The agenda was usually prepared by the superintendents in collaboration with the secretary-treasurer and in consultation with the chairman of their respective boards. The secretary-treasurers followed the practice of sending, well in advance of the date of the meeting, a copy of the agenda together with copies of relevant information, related correspondence, and minutes of the previous meeting, to each of the board members.

The order of the meetings was patently routine beginning with a roll call, establishment of a quorum, reading and approval of minutes with amendments and corrections, hearing of delegations, dealing with business arising out of the minutes, taking up unfinished business, considering a report of the superintendent, attending to new business and miscellaneous items, and finally adjournment.

Summary

The foregoing account of the complex problems faced by a community in transition describes, in general, a part of the situational context within which decisions were made by the two school boards operating in St. Albert.

The rapid burgeoning of an earlier small rural agricultural community of French-Canadian Catholics into a relatively large "dormitory suburb" of mostly English-speaking Protestants created a situation fraught with conflicts and issues. Divergence in community-held values resulted in, what may well have been expected, clear cleavages of issues not only in the social, cultural, economic and political arenas of the community but in the educational arena as well.

The shifts and changes in population composition necessitated the establishment of a Protestant Separate School system which, in turn, meant a duplication of services and facilities requiring an increased expenditure for education on a relatively weak tax base. Each school board was faced with the problem of reflecting the values, interests and aspirations of the subcommunity it represented, and to develop and implement such policies as would tend to advance, as favorably as possible, the progress of the school system under its jurisdiction. In an attempt to illustrate further the situational factors which impinge on educational decision-making, the next chapter will explore, in depth, one of the issues which developed within the community. This issue, concerning a small parcel of land

for a school site, illustrates how other situational factors existent in the community contributed to the development, agitation and final solution of the issue.

CHAPTER IV

DECISION-MAKING: SITUATIONAL FACTORS II

This study, like other studies dealing with the structure and dynamics of community decision-making, assumes that there are persons and groups in the community, outside of the school boards, that influence decisions made by the official decision-makers of the local school systems. It further assumes that the power elites within the informal structure of power are somehow distinguishable from those less powerful and wielding a lesser degree of influence. These assumptions do not imply that the network of power relationships in a modern suburban community lies on the surface and is clearly discernible to a casual observer; nor does it imply that the structure of power relations assumes a monolithic or simple form. It does admit, however, that while all individuals and groups in every society have and control some political resources, there are some that have access to and control relatively more resources than others. Inequalities in the distribution of political resources, coupled with the extent to which as well as the skill with which these

resources are used, in turn, lead to inequalities in political power and influence.¹

THE INFLUENCE SYSTEM WITHIN WHICH
THE TWO SCHOOL BOARDS OPERATE

The question then is: how does one go about the task of identifying those who wield powerful influence in local policy matters?

Agreement is lacking as to which of the two main "pure-type" methodologies used in the study of community power structures is the more desirable and useful.² Supporters of each technique have debated the issue at length, while exposing the shortcomings and the limitations of the other; how one is best suited for use in one situation to provide a particular type of information while the other is more suited for use in a different situation

¹Robert A. Dahl, Modern Political Analysis, (New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc., 1963), p. 17.

²The two basic methodologies referred to here are (1) "The reputational technique" originally used by Floyd Hunter in his study of Regional City and (2) "The issue analysis technique" as used by Robert Dahl in his study of New Haven.

to yield a different type, or perhaps additional information.³

Does the problem of choice of technique to be used boil down to an either/or preference? Knill comments that:

This need not be, for the solution lies in a use of both techniques in appropriate ways on the same problem. Parts of each method could be used so that the best of each would contribute to an eclectic design. If a single design is not essential, both methods could be adopted simultaneously and would serve as a validity check.⁴

A combination of the "reputational approach" and the "issue-analysis approach" was used in this study to determine the pattern of power and influence relationships in the community that affect the resolution of educational issues that come before the school boards.

³Nelson W. Polsby, "Three Problems in The Analysis of Community Power," The American Sociological Review, XXIV(December, 1959), pp. 796-803; Raymond E. Wolfinger, "Reputation and Reality in the Study of Community Power," The American Sociological Review, XXV(October, 1960), pp. 636-644.

⁴William D. Knill, "Community Decision Processes: Research Strategies," Robert S. Cahill and Stephen P. Hencley, (eds.), The Politics of Education in the Local Community, (Danville, Ill., Interstate Printers and Publishers Inc., 1964), p. 80.

Influentials Identified by the "Reputational" Technique

The members of the two school boards as well as the superintendents and the secretary-treasurers were selected to serve as a panel of "experts" to assist in identifying persons reputed to be of greatest power and influence in the community. It was assumed the official policy-makers of the two school districts and their appointed executives were sufficiently acquainted with the socio-political milieu within which they lived and worked as public officials; and were aware of those in the community who, by overt action or tacit implication, exercised a strong influence in facilitating or impeding decisions on community and educational issues.

Those nominated by the panel were, in turn, invited to nominate those whom they perceived to be influential in affecting decisions on general community problems and issues. The process of inviting the nominated to nominate the reputedly influential, was continued till the number of duplications exceeded by far the number of new nominations. This device was introduced to prevent premature closure. It is conceded, of course, that by so doing, the theoretical possibility of premature closure is not entirely precluded since nominations made by influentials tend to be mutually inclusive. This is particularly true in

large communities where social participation and hence sensitivity to power differences across status boundaries are apt to be severely restricted.⁵ "In small communities, however," states Polsby, "the chances seem to be better that comprehensive coverage would precede closure."⁶

Each of the present incumbents on the two school boards and eleven former board members were personally interviewed and asked to respond to the instruction:

In the community there are individuals who, either actively or otherwise, exert considerable influence in deciding important issues on education, recreation, civic affairs, town planning and development, finance and taxation, allocation of land etc. List the individuals you perceive to be influential, in order of overall influence. Specify those leaders you might have worked with and the areas of participation.

As a result, thirty-six different nominations were received. Those nominated were in turn personally interviewed and asked to react to the question:

(a) If you were to suggest names for the most influential people in the community, or of the most respected for their opinions on community problems, what names would you put on the list?

(b) Of these people whom you have named, who would you rate as having the most influence on

⁵Nelson W. Polsby, op.cit., p. 796.

⁶Ibid.

decisions made in the community? Who would you rate second, third and so on?

In all, fifty-three interviews were conducted and a final list of seventy-five names of persons reputed to be influential in one or more areas of community decision-making was obtained. Of the 579 nomination votes cast, 439 (or 75.8 per cent) were received by nineteen persons and 549 (or 94.8 per cent) were received by forty-five persons. These forty-five persons were the only ones to receive two nominations or more each.

To avoid bias and error due to limited or accidental contacts, inaccuracy of interpretation, faulty recall, and the tendency to mention friends and associates, it was deemed necessary for a perceived influential to receive at least two votes to be retained on the list of designated influentials. The original list of seventy-five names was, therefore, reduced to forty-five names, eliminating the thirty persons who received only one vote each. This list is reproduced in Table IX.

Thirty-seven of the persons listed in Table IX were available for interviews. Each one was contacted and asked to rank, in order, the ten most influential persons (beginning with the most influential) in community decisions. The nominations were tabulated and weighted -- a weight of ten

TABLE IX

COMMUNITY LEADERS RANKED ACCORDING TO
NUMBER OF NOMINATIONS RECEIVED

Nominee	Years of Residence in town (1)	Total nom. received (2)	Nominations by school boards (3)	Nominations by other informants (4)
CI-1	53	48	12	36
SSB-4	19	42	12	30
CI-2	53	36	10	26
TC-1	45	35	11	24
CI-3	12	33	9	24
CI-4	2	32	6	26
PSB-6	10	29	8	21
TC-2	4	26	6	20
SSB-1	9	23	6	17
CI-5	3	19	3	16
TC-3	6	19	4	15
SSB-5	6	19	6	13
CI-6	6	15	3	12
CI-7	5	12	2	10
TC-4	5	11	2	9
PSB-1	20	10	2	8
CI-8	8	10	3	7
CI-9	6	10	5	5
CI-10	9	10	2	8
CI-11	2	9	1	8
CI-12	27	8	-	8
SSB-7	5	7	2	5
PSB-4	31	7	-	7
TC-5	5	7	-	7
PSB-5	2	6	-	6
CI-13	5	6	3	3
CI-14	46	5	-	5
CI-15	5	5	2	3
CI-16	1	4	1	3
CI-17	6	4	1	3
CI-18	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	-	4
CI-19	64	4	-	4
CI-20	5	4	3	1
CI-21	6	3	2	1
CI-22	7	3	-	3
TC-6	4	3	-	3
SSB-2	10	3	-	3

TABLE IX (continued)

Nominee	Years of Residence in town (1)	Total nom. received (2)	Nominations by school boards (3)	Nominations by other informants (4)
TC-7	6	3	-	3
CI-23	5	3	3	-
CI-24	6	2	-	2
CI-25	19	2	-	2
CI-26	3	2	-	2
CI-27	3	2	-	2
CI-28	6	2	-	2
CI-29	1	2	-	2

assigned to each first place choice, nine to a second, and so on down to one for a tenth place choice. The total leadership score assigned to each of the forty-four individuals mentioned consists merely of the aggregate of the weighted choices. The resulting rank-order list is shown in Table X. The weighted scores presented in this table tend to show up, even more markedly than the pyramiding of number of nominations received, those reputedly more powerful in influence than those perceived to be considerably less influential.

Before proceeding further, it might be well to examine, in the light of empirical data gathered, the assumptions made earlier in the chapter. It was first assumed that a power structure does exist in the community.

TABLE X

RANKED WEIGHTED SCORES OF INFLUENTIALS
NOMINATED AMONG THE TOP TEN

Nominated Influential	Total Nominations Received	Distribution of Nominations by rank										Score
		Ranks										
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
CI-1	34	12	5	4	4	4	1	1	3	-	-	267
TC-1	23	8	3	6	3	1	-	-	-	-	2	184
SSB-4	25	1	8	1	2	4	1	4	2	2	-	159
CI-2	22	2	3	2	4	4	1	2	1	1	2	135
CI-3	21	2	2	2	1	6	2	3	3	-	-	128
CI-4	13	6	2	1	2	1	1	3	1	-	1	127
PSB-6	19	-	3	2	4	2	1	2	1	3	1	106
TC-2	15	-	1	3	3	2	2	1	3	-	-	89
SSB-1	14	-	-	1	3	2	5	-	2	-	1	89
CI-5	11	1	1	3	-	-	1	1	2	1	1	61
TC-4	9	1	2	1	1	1	-	1	-	1	1	56
TC-3	12	2	2	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	4	55
SSB-5	10	-	-	3	-	1	2	1	1	2	-	51
CI-6	7	-	-	1	3	1	-	1	-	-	1	40
CI-10	6	-	-	3	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	38
CI-7	6	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	28
CI-15	3	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	-	-	-	20
CI-8	4	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	19
CI-9	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	15
CI-11	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	15
CI-12	4	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	1	14
CI-14	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	14
CI-28	2	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	14
CI-14	2	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	12
CI-16	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	12
CI-21	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	11
SSB-2	2	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	11
PSB-1	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	10
CI-17	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	10
CI-18	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	10
CI-23	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
PSB-4	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	9
CI-20	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
TC-5	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	8
PSB-5	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	6

TABLE X (Continued)

Nominated Influential	Total Nominations Received	Distribution of Nominations by rank										Score
		Ranks										
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
CI-19	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	6
TC-7	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	6
CI-30	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	5
SSB-6	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	5
CI-22	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	4
CI-26	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	3
SSB-7	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
CI-13	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
TC-6	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1

In this regard, it should be noted that the technique adopted for determining the influence system within the community, allows for disagreement as well as for agreement with respect to leadership nominations. If there was no identifiable leadership elite in the community one would expect little or no agreement in leadership choice. There is no reason to reject the assumption that lack of agreement indicates the absence of a power elite.

Obviously, all of St. Albert's nearly 7,000 residents could not conceivably play leadership roles. Access to social rewards or prestige or power is by no means equal to all of society's members. As any public official can verify, there is a limited group of individuals who are able to

exert a great amount of influence within a community. The size of this group in St. Albert is unknown, but it is reasonable to assume that it is at least forty-five as the leadership poll indicates.⁷

The top nineteen in the leadership poll received from ten to forty-eight choices while the remainder had less than ten choices and most had only one. This analysis appears to uphold the assumption that a power structure does exist in the community.

The second assumption was that the primary panel of judges, namely, the members of the two school boards and their administrative officers, would be able to identify the power elite. Out of a possible fourteen choices that any nominee could receive, each of the top nineteen leaders

⁷The 579 choices made by the fifty-three informants, could have been evenly distributed, indicating the absence of a power elite. In fact, they were not. Of the 579 choices, 399 were directed to the top fifteen nominees ($\bar{x} = 26.6$); the remaining 180 were directed to other sixty nominees ($\bar{x} = 3.0$). If choices were distributed evenly over the seventy-five nominees forming the leadership pool, each nominee would have received nearly eight votes ($\bar{x} = 7.72$). The standard deviation calculated for frequency distribution of choices was found to be 10.6771. Using 7.72 as the mean and 10.6771 as the standard deviation, an upper confidence limit of 10.902 (at the 99 per cent level) or 10.137 (at the 95 per cent level) may be computed. This would indicate that choices are no longer random in the cases of individuals receiving eleven or more choices (at the 99 per cent level of confidence), or 10 or more choices (at the 95 per cent level of confidence).

received at least two nominations while each of the top five received at least nine nominations and each of the top two received no less than twelve nominations.⁸ The high consensus between the selected panel of judges and the rest of the informants would indicate that the members of the two school boards and their administrative officers were aware of the existence of a power structure in the community and were indeed able to identify with some degree of accuracy the membership of the power elite.

As one check on the validity of these findings, the nominations made by the forty-five individuals in the leadership pool were examined for mutual choices. Thirty of these leaders chose each other at least once (Table XI), eighteen chose each other at least three times.

This concentration of mutual choices made well within the upper limits of the ranking scale, appears to indicate a definite selective process in leadership choices made by persons who influentially affect community decisions.

Influentials Identified by the "Issue Analysis" Technique

The "Issue Analysis" approach to the identification of influentials in the community provided a further validity

⁸See Table IX (3).

TABLE XI
COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP BY NUMBERS OF
MUTUAL CHOICES BETWEEN LEADERS

Nominee	No. of Mutual Choices	Nominee	No. of Mutual Choices
1. SSB-4	11	16. CI-11	4
2. TC-1	11	17. SSB-1	3
3. CI-4	10	18. CI-15	3
4. CI-1	10	19. PSB-1	2
5. PSB-6	6	20. CI-9	2
6. TC-2	6	21. PSB-4	2
7. CI-9	6	22. CI-14	2
8. CI-2	5	23. CI-17	2
9. CI-3	5	24. CI-24	2
10. TC-3	5	25. CI-12	1
11. TC-4	5	26. PSB-5	1
12. CI-5	4	27. CI-18	1
13. SSB-5	4	28. CI-21	1
14. CI-6	4	29. SSB-2	1
15. CI-7	4	30. CI-25	1

check on the findings reported above. A particular issue in which power and influence helped to determine the outcome was chosen, and an attempt was made to delineate the system of influence that surrounded its agitation and final settlement. The issue chosen in this case was the "school site issue" which involved primarily the two school boards and the Town Council.

In order to determine who else was involved and the extent to which each was implicated, personal interviews were conducted using Interview Schedule No. 3 as a structured guide for data collection. Interviews were conducted first with members of the two school boards and four available members of the Town Council who were involved in the reaching of the final decision. From the responses received, a list of names of persons known to have had some part in the dispute was compiled. Those not already contacted were next interviewed to gather additional data and to ascertain whether new additions were to be made to the list. This was continued until no further additions were suggested. In all, thirty-four interviews were held. Information obtained from these interviews together with data gleaned from a perusal of records, documents, direct observations and the weekly Gazette were used to determine the patterns of involvement in the decisional outcome of the issue. The opinions of the informants about the decision process were neither sought nor used.

The development of the issue. Following the year 1958, St. Albert witnessed phenomenal overall growth in population. The statistics indicate that, over the three-year period 1958-1961, the number of residents in the town

actually doubled. The bulk of the newcomers consisted of young married couples with young families of early school and pre-school age children, and as might be expected, they were attracted to the neighborhoods in which educational facilities were most conveniently available for their children.

At this time the Roman Catholic Public School Board had not as yet established a school in the Grandin Park area, but was operating a large twenty-three room elementary-junior high school in Sturgeon Heights. The Protestant Separate School District which was organized in 1958, had built a twelve-room elementary-junior high school in Sturgeon Heights, and was operating two portable elementary class rooms in Grandin Park for the convenience of their supporters in that new subdivision. The pattern of settlement followed the location of these schools, with the majority of Roman Catholic newcomers, with young children of school age, moving into the Sturgeon Heights area, and a large number of Protestant newcomers concentrating in the Grandin Park area.

By late 1960 and early 1961, it became clear to the Protestant Separate School Board that the Protestant elementary school population would soon outgrow the

facilities currently provided, and that they would need to take immediate steps to provide more classroom space for the increasing number of children moving into the two new-growth areas. Accordingly, the Board decided to construct a six-room elementary school in Grandin Park with provision, in the plans, for further expansion to meet future needs. This building was to replace the two portable classrooms which were to be moved to the Sturgeon Heights area in order to relieve the congestion that was developing there. The school was sited on a ten-acre lot adjoining a 13.25 acre parcel designated as "park reserve." When the school was put into service in the fall of 1961, it was found to be entirely too small to accommodate the number of pupils who needed to attend it. Temporary arrangements had to be made to accommodate, in the Sturgeon Heights schools, those who could not be accommodated in the Grandin Park School, and immediate action was taken to proceed with the second stage of construction without delay.⁹

While the Protestant population was rapidly increasing in St. Albert and in Grandin Park in particular, the

⁹St. Albert Gazette, September 23, 1961, p. 5.

Roman Catholic population was also increasing at a rate fast enough to warrant serious thought being given to providing an elementary school for the Roman Catholic children in Grandin Park. A survey of educational needs in the area was conducted within the school system in late 1962, and a recommendation was made to the board suggesting that plans be drawn up immediately for the initial construction of an eight-room elementary school for occupancy in the fall of 1963, to be followed subsequently by the building of a second eight-room elementary school on the same or alternate site to be determined by the extent and direction of residential development in the neighborhood.

Having decided this, the next important question was: "Where should this school be built?" Maps were examined, local and regional planners were consulted and it was finally agreed that a seven-acre piece carved out of the 13.25 acre parcel of "public reserve" land adjoining the Protestant Separate School site (see Figure 2) would be ideal from the point of view of suitability, economy and convenience. Following the discussions at the Public School Board meetings held on January 18 and January 26, 1963, actions were taken to place a request with the Town Council for permission to construct a school on a seven-

acre piece of land in Grandin Park, designated on Figure 2 as Site No. 2. The Board also voted to file an application with the Provincial Minister of Public Works for the conversion of that portion of the 13.25 acre "park reserve" shown as Site No. 2 to "school reserve," and for the transfer of title of the said parcel of land to the Public School Board for school building purposes.¹⁰

The request to the Town Council was considered by the Council in session on January 28, 1963 and it was voted:

. . . that the matter be referred to the Technical Advisory Committee for study; and the Secretary-Treasurer ascertain the owner of the parcel in question.¹¹

The application to the Provincial Minister of Public Works, which was filed in February, 1963, was referred to the Edmonton District Planning Commission for their concurrence to the transfer.¹²

¹⁰Under the Planning Act of the Province of Alberta, the Provincial Department of Public Works held title to all crown lands until such time as they are zoned for specific purposes by the appropriate authorities and request is made for transfer of title.

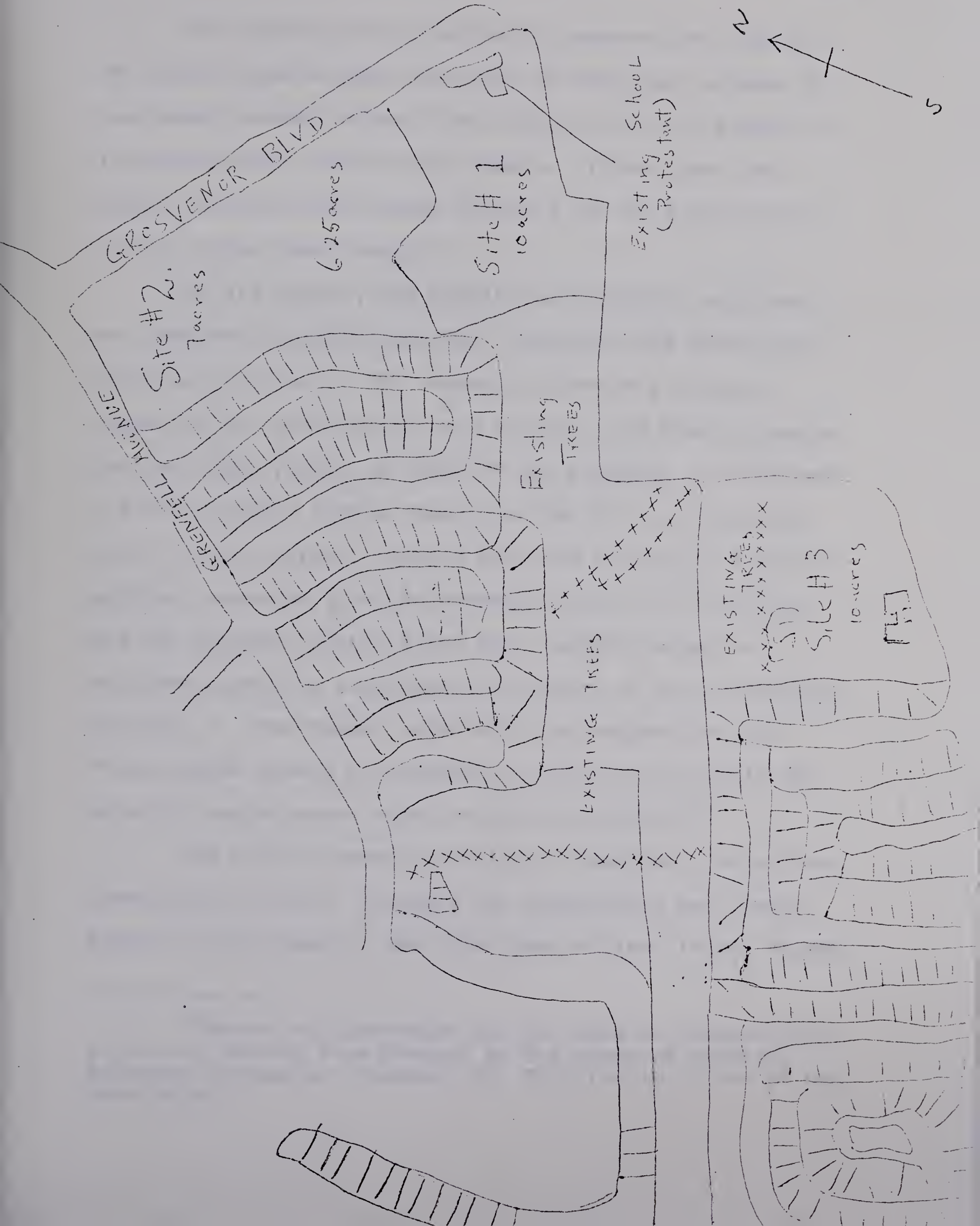
¹¹Minutes of a meeting of the Town Council, January 28, 1963. (in the files of the Town Council).

¹²The Edmonton District Planning Commission is a regional body of professional personnel, serving constituent urban and rural districts in an advisory capacity in matters pertaining to subdivision formations, planning and development.

Figure 2.

GRANDIN PARK SUBDIVISION SHOWING
LAY-OUT OF PROPOSED SCHOOL-SITES

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The Commission had initially prepared the lay-out of the new subdivisions, and had, in the plans allowed for two other possible sites (Sites Nos. 3 and 4 in Figure 2) for schools and parks of the future. It now gave the matter careful study and on February 20, 1963 submitted a report to the Town Council.

In its report, the Commission carefully outlined the changes in population size, structure and composition that had occurred in the community since the original plans for the subdivision were drafted, and then proceeded to list eight points in favor of the proposal to construct a Roman Catholic Public School on Site No. 2. The ninth point, in the report, alerted the Town Council to the main problem connected with the proposal namely that the Town and the Separate School Board have expended money or obtained grants to landscape and improve an area involving Site No. 2. The report ended with the suggestion that "this matter should be examined to see what equitable and mutually satisfactory solution can be reached."¹³

The Town's Technical Advisory Committee studied the Commission's report, endorsed its suggestions and recommended to the Council, that the piece of land in the Grandin

¹³Report on Elementary School Sites in Grandin Park, to the St. Albert Town Council by the Edmonton District Planning Commission, February 20, 1963 (in the files of the Commission).

Park subdivision, requested by the Public School District, be allocated to it for a school site.

When the report of the Technical Advisory Committee was presented to the Council at its meeting on March 4, 1963, a resolution was passed to the effect that:

. . . the recommendations of the Technical Advisory Committee, as outlined in the Report on Elementary School Sites in Grandin Park, submitted by the Edmonton District Planning Commission, dated February 20, 1963, be accepted, with reference being given to the map showing Parkland and School land.¹⁴

The resolution was opposed by TC-3, a member of the Town Council, on the basis that the history of the zoning of the land had not been clearly established.

This resolution was followed by another resolution moved by TC-2, another member of the Town Council, and passed by the Council to the effect that: ". . . a letter of no objection be provided to Public School District No. 3 regarding a school site at Grosvenor Boulevard and Granville Avenue."

As soon as the text of these two resolutions became known the struggle was on.

¹⁴Minutes of a meeting of the Town Council, March 4, 1963. (in the files of the Town Council).

The agitation of the issue. The resolution passed by the Town Council at its meeting on March 4, 1963, immediately touched off a storm of protest from the Protestant Separate School Board which alleged, in a letter dated March 5, 1963, addressed to the Secretary of the Town Council, that:

1. The Town Council had ignored the mutual agreement arrived at in a joint meeting of representatives of the Town Council and the two school boards that the allocation of school sites be determined at a joint meeting of the three bodies.

2. The Town Council had ignored the Protestant Separate School Board's letters of February 6 and 26, and had arbitrated in the matter without consulting the two boards as had been previously agreed upon.¹⁵

3. The Town Council had gone ahead and made a decision regarding the disputed school site in spite of the fact that the Town Council had been given prior notification of an impending joint meeting of the three boards on March 13, 1963 for the specific purpose of discussing school sites.

4. The Town Council had committed a breach of agreement that existed between it and the Protestant Separate School District concerning the joint use of parklands and school grounds.

On the same day, a letter was forwarded by the Protestant Separate School Board to the Provincial Minister of Public Works stating that a joint agreement between the

¹⁵In these two letters the Town Council was apprised of the joint meeting arranged by the two school boards for a discussion on school sites.

Protestant Separate School District and the Town Council for landscaping and developing contiguous school and parklands was in effect, and that a large investment of capital was involved. The Board sought an opportunity to present a brief to the Department when the application for the use of the site in question was considered. The letter alleged that the opportunity to present a brief at the local level had been denied, and intimated that the Board would be forced to adopt legal measures against the Town Council if the joint agreement was violated.

At this time the public, in general, was unaware of the events that had transpired. But on March 9, 1963, the date on which the local weekly Gazette carried the proceedings of the Council meeting of March 4, 1963, and published the text of the resolutions passed concerning the allocation of the parkland (Site No. 2) in Grandin Park for a school site, the telephone in the home of GPR-1 began to ring. The wife of GPR-1 had formerly been an employee of Town Hall as a clerk in charge of land sales. Using the 1960 zoning map of the Grandin Park subdivision placed at her disposal, she assured friends and prospective buyers that the lots shown on Grosvenor Boulevard fronting the designated parkland were described as "ravine lots with a

park view." On this assurance, people purchased the lots at premium prices, and built their homes. The irate callers now demanded an explanation. GPR-1 was disturbed at the action taken by the Town Council which brought into question the integrity of his wife in her dealings with the buyers of the lots on Grosvenor Boulevard. He immediately mobilized the assistance of fellow residents in presenting a petition to the Town Council protesting the proposed building of a school on the corner of Grosvenor Boulevard and Grenfell Avenue. The petition was signed by all the homeowners on Grosvenor Boulevard including two Roman Catholic residents. The petitioners declared that objections to the proposed school building were not motivated by religious biases or prejudices, but solely on the grounds that they did not want any school, Protestant or Catholic, built on the parkland across from their homes.

At the Town Council meeting of March 11, 1963, the petition was read and it was voted that in view of the action taken at a special Council meeting held on March 8, 1963, the petition be tabled.¹⁶

¹⁶Minutes of a meeting of the Town Council, March 8, 1963. (in the files of the Town Council).

The press reporter concluding his report on the discussion of this item on the agenda wrote:

The mayor stated that he wished it to be clearly understood that Council did not wish to become involved in the matter of school sites and that it should be settled between the two school boards if at all possible. . . . Mayor _____ suggested that if the matter could not be settled at this joint meeting, then it should be placed before the Edmonton District Planning Commission.¹⁷

The meeting between the school boards was held as scheduled, but no agreement was reached. In his letter to the Secretary of the Town Council intimating that no agreement had been reached by the two school boards, the Secretary of the Protestant Separate School District No. 6 pointed out that:

1. This was not a dispute between the two school boards, but rather a question between the former town administration and the Protestant Separate School District No. 6 as to whether the Town Council intended to honor an agreement.

2. Town Council had suggested the Edmonton District Planning Commission act as arbitrator in the matter. This was impossible since the Commission could not arbitrate on whether Town Council should honor an agreement made with the School District No. 6 or not.¹⁸

¹⁷St. Albert Gazette, March 16, 1963, p. 1.

¹⁸Letter from the Secretary-Treasurer, Protestant Separate School District No.6, March 18, 1963. (in the files of the Town Council); the agreement was one that was allegedly entered into by the Secretary-Manager of the former Board of Administrators of the Town and the Protestant Separate School Board with regard to joint development and use of parkland lying within Site No. 2. The files of the Town Council revealed no written evidence of the agreement; but the school board claimed that part performance of the agreement was sufficient evidence to validate its existence.

Notwithstanding the objections raised, the Town Council passed a resolution (moved by TC-8) at its meeting on March 25, 1963, stating that:

. . . a letter be forwarded to the Edmonton District Planning Commission, confirming that Council has approved the recommendation of the Technical Advisory Committee in so far as the allocation of school land and parkland in the Grandin Park subdivision as illustrated in the plan submitted with the Edmonton District Planning Commission's report dated February 20, 1963.¹⁹

Sensing that they were making no headway in getting the Town Council to reverse its decision, the Protestant Separate School Board placed its case in the hands of its legal consultants. The board's lawyer, immediately registered a caveat against the park reserve to protect his clients' interest and despatched a letter to the Town Council expressing the opinion that:

. . . a valid and enforceable agreement was entered into between the Town and the Protestant Separate School District No. 6 regarding the joint development and use of parkland and school land, and that unless the Council took steps to rescind action and to honor the agreement, they would commence appropriate legal proceedings to enjoin the Town and the Public School District No. 3 from dealing with the park reserve in any way at variance with or inconsistent with the contract.²⁰

¹⁹Minutes of a meeting of the Town Council, March 25, 1963. (in the files of the Town Council).

²⁰Letter from the Solicitors for the St. Albert Protestant Separate School District No. 6, to Secretary of the Town Council, March 25, 1963. (in the files of the Town Council).

The move made by the Protestant Separate School Board in resorting to legal means to coerce the Town Council into reversing its position on the issue had the effect of arresting the implementation of the proposal and of bringing the dispute before a higher court of inquiry.

The Department of Public Works had received a report of the action taken by the Town Council approving in principle the providing of a seven acre school site from the "park reserve," as well as a request from the Roman Catholic Public School Board for a transfer of title of the land so re-allocated. In its reply to the Town Council, the Department of Public Works pointed out that:

1. It had been notified that a petition of objection had been submitted to the Town Council signed by both denominations.

2. The Town could not enter into any agreement with the Protestant Separate School Board with respect to the "park reserve" since it neither held title to the land, nor requested a lease for administrative control of the land.

3. The Department of Public Works had been obliged to advise the Secretary-Treasurer of the St. Albert Public School District No. 3, that in accordance with departmental policy, it would not release any of the "park reserve" for school purposes, so long as the land is so designated for "park reserve."

4. In accordance with Bill No. 57 of 1963, effective August 1, 1963, the Department would file title to the said "reserve" with the Registrar who was "authorized to

cancel the title in favour of the Crown and issue a new title in favour of the Municipality."²¹

The onus of providing a solution to the problem was thus shifted to the Edmonton District Planning Commission. Accordingly, the petition of protest made by the residents of Grosvenor Boulevard was forwarded to the Commission by the Town Council with the request that a copy of the same be referred to the Provincial Planning Advisory Board.²²

The Edmonton District Planning Commission viewed the problem as one primarily involving the zoning policies of the local administration, and that objections raised against zoning decisions of the Town Council should appropriately be referred to the Provincial Planning Advisory Board, which was empowered to hear all such appeals and to make recommendations to the local body. The Commission, therefore, resolved at its meeting on April 3, 1963, to refer the matter to the provincial body for hearing.²³

²¹Letter from Department of Public Works to Secretary-Treasurer of the Town of St. Albert, March 28, 1963. (in the files of the Town Council).

²²Minutes of a meeting of the Town Council, April 1, 1963. (in the files of the Town Council).

²³Letter from the Executive Director of the Edmonton District Planning Commission to the Secretary of the Provincial Planning Advisory Board, April 9, 1963. (in the files of the Commission).

Hearings were held by the Provincial Planning Advisory Board on June 7, 1963, and representatives of the Town Council, the two school boards and the adjoining property owners on Grosvenor Boulevard were invited to be present at the meeting to make their submissions regarding Interim Development Resolution No. 6 of the Town of St. Albert.

After careful consideration of the submissions made, the Board felt that it could not agree with the contents of the interim development resolution and recommended that a "NOT APPROVED" verdict be returned to the Town of St. Albert.²⁴

Following receipt of the report of the Provincial Planning Advisory Board, the board members of the Roman Catholic Public School District sought the advice of their legal counsel, PGO-4. In addition, an appeal was filed with the Provincial Planning Advisory Board for a reconsideration of the Interim Development Resolution since it appeared from the Board's report that it had overlooked the fact that no agreement between the Town Council and the Protestant Separate School District actually existed.

²⁴Letter from the Provincial Planning Advisory Board, June 26, 1963. (in the files of the Town Council).

In connection with this appeal, informants suggested that the only person that would have and possibly did have political influence upon the Ministers of the Provincial Government whose departments were represented on the Provincial Planning Advisory Board, was PGO-4, a former colleague in the Provincial Cabinet. Whether he did, in actual fact, use his political resource of "access to government," and informally exercise political influence in government was not determined; but there was a strong feeling on the part of some respondents that he did attempt to have the Provincial Planning Advisory Board reverse or modify its decision on the Interim Development Resolution.

The Provincial Board did re-examine the case, but denied the appeal for a re-hearing since, in its opinion, no new evidence had been presented in the appeal. In a letter dated November 8, 1963, addressed to the Town Council the Board stated that it viewed the request and non-adoption of the recommendation as indicating Council's resolve in pursuing its objective of providing the said land for school use. Accordingly it reassessed its decision of June 26, 1963 with regard to the provisions of the new Planning Act and recommended that:

Should the Council of the Town of St. Albert duly assembled, after considering the factors involved, decide to pursue its efforts of accommodating school

construction on the subject land, that then a subdivision application be made to the Edmonton District Planning Commission.

Should subdivision be achieved, then Council will be in a position to consider and approve a development application for school construction.²⁵

This missive placed the onus of resolving the issue squarely in the lap of the Town Council. How would the Town Council react? Would it arbitrate in favour of one school board over the claims of the other?

The settlement of the issue. Agitators continued to press for a solution favourable to the interests they particularly espoused. One group was strongly of the opinion that the Town Council should assert its prerogative to reclassify the area under dispute and release it for school purposes. Another group was equally strong in contending that the recommendations of the Provincial Planning Advisory Board should be followed. Yet another group preferred to see the case carried to a court of justice to establish the legality of the claims presented.

The mayor, members of the Town Council, the chairman of the school boards, and community leaders such as CI-1, CI-2, CI-6 and CI-4 shared the mayor's views that the adoption of any one of the alternatives urged by the

²⁵Letter from the Provincial Planning Advisory Board, November 8, 1963. (in the files of the Town Council).

agitators would, in consequence, "create a divided community, inflict a wound difficult to heal, and leave scars of bitterness on inter-board and inter-group relationships that would not be assuaged quickly."²⁶ The mayor refused to entertain the thought that arbitration was the only solution to the problem, and insisted rather, that a more acceptable solution could be achieved by negotiation. He stated in an interview that the three public bodies involved had taken positions that none of them were really happy about, but did not want to back down for fear of losing face. If each would back down a bit, the solution would become apparent. "The decision," he stated "must be made in the public interest rather than in the special interest of the parties involved."²⁷

The first step therefore, reasoned the mayor, was to remove the issue from public view in order that the problem might be discussed sanely and dispassionately, away from the irrationality of a highly charged emotional atmosphere created by unyielding agitators. For the next two months the issue was neither discussed formally at regular council meetings, nor mentioned in the press, nor made the subject

²⁶Statement by the Mayor, personal interview.

²⁷Ibid.

of petitions, of mass meetings, or of representations to any governmental body.

Some observers expressed the opinion that the atmosphere within each board had changed following the election to the boards of new trustees representing fresh points of view, and a new set of self expectations. In fact, the general feeling was that the new trustees were hand-picked by certain influentials, expressly for the purpose of helping to generate within and between the two boards an atmosphere of cordiality and cooperation conducive to an amicable settlement of this and other issues.

SSB-5, the newly elected trustee to the Protestant Separate School Board later claimed that, "a solution of sorts was arrived at within one and one-half months" of his being elected to the board. "No solution was in sight prior to this." On what basis was this claim made? He held the personal view that the problem came about as a result of "misunderstanding, lack of communication, bigotry, and a feeling on the part of both school boards, that the public was critical of school sites located apart from residential development."²⁸ He alleged that his notice of motion of November 21, 1963 "forced the properties committee

²⁸Statement by SSB-5, personal interview

to present a counter-proposal in writing, which helped unblock people's minds and stop hearsay evidence."²⁹

In the preamble to his resolution, SSB-5 stated:

I do intend to try to influence this Board toward a policy of complete and open co-operation and understanding with other authorities in dealing with school site problems in the hope that at least when disagreement or impasse arise, our district cannot be accused of obstruction and lack of co-operation.³⁰

While SSB-5's aims and intentions with regard to the Separate School Board were explicit in the preamble to his notice of motion; PSB-5's were implicit in his behavior at the Public School Board meetings. From the very first board meeting that he attended as a member, he left no doubt as to the direction in which he sought to steer the board.

During discussions of problems involving inter-board relationships, he repeatedly asked such questions as:

Have we no grounds for cooperation?

Is there no way we can foster and nurture cooperation?

Is there nothing that can be done to bring about better understanding?

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Minutes of a meeting of the Town Council, November 21, 1963. (in the files of the St. Albert Protestant Separate School District).

From his point of view the dispute arose because of misunderstanding, antagonism, emotional involvement and lack of liaison with the other board. "Personal feelings on the part of some individuals were swaying their judgment and their preference for the other site was not based on sound judgment,"³¹ was his analysis of the problem.

He was pleased to serve on a three-man liaison committee delegated to discuss the issue in a joint meeting with representatives of the Separate School Board, and to negotiate an acceptable compromise. Later, in retrospect he commented:

The subject of a site having been decided, the emergence of a liaison committee and cooperation with the Separate School Board promoted an entirely new spirit in the Town.³²

While the two school boards were engaged in endeavouring to find a solution to their school-site problems, external pressures continued. Hearing by the grapevine, that SSB-5 was to introduce a notice of motion at the Separate School Board meeting on November 21, 1963 CI-9 requested permission to present a brief to the Board on behalf of the Grosvenor Boulevard homeowners. The brief reminded the Board of the arguments upon which the Provincial Planning Advisory Board had based its "NOT

³¹Statement by PSB-5, personal interview.

³²Ibid.

APPROVED" recommendation, and cautioned the Board against unfair pressures that were being exerted to reverse its stand on the issue.

The proposal embodied in SSB-5's notice of motion was to set up a special committee consisting of representatives from the Town Council and the two school boards for the purpose of studying and proposing solutions to all outstanding and future school and park site problems. The proposal, if implemented, would virtually divest the properties committee of the board of some of its responsibilities, and would, in effect, take the present site problem out of their hands. SSB-4 ruled the notice of motion "irregular" and moved that it be tabled till the properties committee had had an opportunity to study the situation and report back to the board.

The pressure to break the deadlock now rested on the board and particularly on the properties committee. They were obliged to either change their present attitude and present an alternate solution to the problem, or agree to have the proposed special committee (on which a coalition of their opponents and the Town Council could force them into a minority position) do so. Demands for an early termination of the dispute were gaining increasing support from formal and informal groups in the community. So far

delay and postponement had not resolved the issue, and time was running out for meeting the architect's deadline if the proposed new schools were to be ready for occupancy in the fall of 1964.³³

Under the spur of SSB-5's proposals, the properties committee analyzed all aspects of the problem, searched out other possible school lands in Grandin Park and Sturgeon Heights, and presented their findings on December 5, 1963 in a report which proposed an alternate solution.³⁴

Some of the ideas and alternatives contained in the report reflected the views of CI-3, the former secretary-manager of the town and a leading figure in local municipal politics. He was a member of a variety of business, social, civic and religious organizations in the town, and associated with a number of people in a variety of ways. He was on the

³³A group of professionals and business men (TC-3, CI-21, CI-20, TC-4, PSB-5, CI-1, CI-22) with whom SSB-5 associated, deplored the divisive and stultifying influence of religious extremists and bigots. These advocates of change were said to have had a good deal to do with SSB-5's notice of motion.

The executive of the Chamber of Commerce was growing apprehensive of the effects of a cleavage developing in the community and expressed their concern to the mayor.

³⁴Minutes of a meeting of the St. Albert Separate School Board, December 5, 1963. (in the files of the St. Albert Separate School District No. 6).

executive of the Chamber of Commerce, the Lions Club, the Edmonton Area Industrial Association and the St. Albert Voter's Association, a steward of the United Church and a member of the Masonic Lodge. Commenting on the solution that was finally adopted, CI-3 claimed that it was initially suggested by the St. Albert Voter's Association to members of the Protestant Separate School Board who later found it to be workable.

At the board meeting of December 5, 1963 SSB-5 withdrew his notice of motion that had been tabled at the previous meeting, and voted in favour of the proposal submitted by the properties committee.

In essence, the proposal suggested that the Protestant Separate School District relinquish its claim on a school site (already allocated to it) adjoining the grounds of the Roman Catholic Public School District's Vital Grandin School in Sturgeon Heights, in favour of a suggested alternate site in the same neighborhood, provided that the Town Council consented to entering into a written agreement with the District for the joint use of the "public reserve" (including Site No. 2) in Grandin Park. The offer of barter was based on the knowledge that the parcels of land adjoining the grounds of each other's school was vital to contemplated plans for the expansion of the two schools.

Implicit in the proposal was the assumption that the Roman Catholic Public School Board would be willing to abandon its efforts to secure the use of Site No. 2 and to accept an alternate site (which might not be quite as desirable as Site No. 2) in the neighborhood. It was essential therefore to meet with representatives of the Public School Board to determine their reaction to the proposition presented. If the reaction was favourable and the terms of settlement could be mutually agreed upon, a joint resolution would then be drafted for presentation to the Town Council.

Accordingly, a joint meeting of representatives was held on December 7, 1963. The Public School Board was represented by PSB-1 (the chairman), PSB-5 and PSB-3; while the Separate School Board was represented by SSB-1 (chairman), SSB-4 and SSB-5. The proposed scheme was carefully examined and questions relating to the advantages and the disadvantages of accepting the barter proposal, the costs involved in the land exchange and other related matters were discussed.

A verbal report of the joint meeting was then presented to the Public School Board at a meeting held December 12, 1963 by chairman, PSB-1. Reactions to the proposal made by members of the Public School Board were mixed. Some of the comments made were as follows:

-I am reluctant to go along with this. We have a right to put up our school and I would like consideration for our request to continue.

-I am in agreement with the proposal. If we want to progress then let's get on with it. We have nothing to lose by going along. The other site is good and can be done up attractively.

-I have been in favour of Site No. 2 because of the promise the ratepayers were given. But I'm willing to relinquish Site No. 2 if we can get another 10 acre site.

-I hate to see all our efforts wasted, lawyer's fees, etc.

-I don't like it, but I think it is the best we can do.

A motion to accept the proposal, and to submit to the Town Council a joint resolution drafted by the committee of representatives of the two boards was made by PSB-5. A vote taken on the motion revealed three in favour and two abstentions. A compromise had been reached, all opposition ceased, the community rallied to implement the boards joint decision, and the Town Council went along with it even though the Town was put to the expense of \$30,000.

Who was involved? The thirty-four interviews yielded a list of thirty-seven persons said to have been involved in the school-site issue. This list is reproduced in Table XII.

TABLE XII

PERSONS NAMED AS HAVING INFLUENCED OR ATTEMPTED
TO INFLUENCE THE FINAL DECISION
ON THE SCHOOL-SITE ISSUE

Person Named	Organization Represented or Group Membership	Number of Times Named
1. SSB-4	Protestant Separate School Board	18
2. CI-9	Grosvenor Blvd. Residents (Rec.Board)	15
3. CI-3	Board of Administrators (Former)	14
4. TC-1	Town Council	14
5. TC-2	Town Council	14
6. PSB-1	Roman Catholic Public School Board	12
7. PGO-1	Provincial Planning Advisory Board	12
8. PSB-6	Roman Catholic Public School Board	11
9. SSB-7	Protestant Separate School Board	10
10. SSB-5	Protestant Separate School Board	9
11. SSB-1	Protestant Separate School Board	9
12. SSB-2	Protestant Separate School Board	9
13. PSB-2	Roman Catholic Public School Board	9
14. PSB-3	Roman Catholic Public School Board	6
15. TC-3	Town Council	6
16. PGO-2	Edmonton District Planning Commission	5
17. PSB-5	Roman Catholic Public School Board	5
18. TC-4	Town Council	4
19. PGO-4	Counsel Roman Catholic Public School	3
20. CI-23	Protestant Separate School Electorate	3
21. CI-22	Prot. Separate School Board (Former)	3
22. CI-8	Roman Catholic Public School Electorate	3
23. GPR-3	Roman Catholic Residents in Grandin Park	3
24. PGO-3	Provincial Dept. of Public Works	2
25. TC-5	Town Council	2
26. GPR-1	Grosvenor Blvd. Residents	2
27. CI-10	Local "Gazette"	1
28. SSB-3	Protestant Separate School Board	1
29. CI-4	(Parish Priest) Roman Catholic Church	1
30. GPR-2	Home and School Association	1
31. SSB-6	Protestant Separate School Board	1
32. TC-6	Town Council	1
33. GPR-4	Roman Catholic Res. of Grandin Park	1
34. CI-5	(Minister) United Church	1
35. TC-8	Town Council	1
36. CI-7	Protestant Separate School Electorate	1
37. CI-21	Protestant Separate School Electorate	1

A comparison of the list of influentials obtained by the "reputational" approach (Tables IX and X) with the list of influentials revealed by the "issue analysis" approach (Table XII) shows a good deal of overlap. All but three of the top nineteen of the list of reputedly influential persons were found to be involved in the site issue; while twenty-four of the thirty-seven implicated in the site issue were found among the reputed influentials in the community. The thirteen persons whose names did not appear in Table IX or Table X were:

- | | | | |
|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1. PGO-1 | 5. PSB-2 | 9. TC-8 | 13. GPR-4 |
| 2. PGO-2 | 6. PSB-3 | 10. GPR-1 | |
| 3. PGO-3 | 7. SSB-3 | 11. GPR-2 | |
| 4. PGO-4 | 8. SSB-6 | 12. GPR-3 | |

The first four persons were non-residents of the town and were functionally involved in the dispute, by virtue of the official positions they occupied.

PSB-2 and PSB-3 were members of the Roman Catholic Public School Board. As residents of Grandin Park, they were perhaps motivated to active involvement in the dispute by consideration of duty towards the electors of Grandin Park. PSB-2 remarked, "I tried to ensure that as many people as possible who would be affected by the decision, were made fully aware of the pros and cons of the problem," and, "I was satisfied in my own mind that my duty as a board member had been done."

SSB-3 was a member of the Protestant Separate School Board and together with SSB-2 comprised the Properties Committee which was instrumental in presenting the solution that was finally accepted. SSB-6 was the superintendent of the Protestant Separate School system.

TC-8, a member of the Town Council, operated a real estate and insurance business in the Town, and had handled the sale of some of the homes on Grosvenor Boulevard.

GPR-1 was one of the aggrieved home owners on Grosvenor Boulevard, and was instrumental in securing signatures to the petition objecting to the erection of a school on Site No. 2. GPR-2, another aggrieved home owner on Grosvenor Boulevard, served on the executive of the local Home and School Association. GPR-3 and GPR-4 represented the Roman Catholic parents in Grandin Park who pressed for the building of an elementary school on a central site in the neighborhood.

Conspicuously missing from the issue-analysis list (Table XII) were the names of two men generally known to be the most powerful men in the community. They were CI-1 and CI-2. CI-1 who was variously described as "Mr. St. Albert," "the big boy in town," "the influence behind the scenes," and "the master," is a native son of St. Albert of French Canadian parentage. In the town and district, with the

older residents and the Metis population, he is preeminent because of his family heritage, family connections and business relationships.³⁵ At his store, which he has owned and operated with success since 1936, CI-1 is said to dispense more than just groceries. Many are said to contact him for advice and counsel on a variety of issues and subjects. One statement made by a respondent might perhaps appear to overstate the situation, but observations made by others would tend to indicate that it contained more than just an element of truth. The statement made was: "A lot of people seek his opinion. Whatever he says is the gospel." Another respondent remarked: "His store is still a congregating place for people. The Town Council once upon a time, even until 1957, used to meet in the back room." And yet another said: "More town business goes on at the back of the store than in the Council meeting. He is active behind the scenes in many organizations but not visibly. He is a very influential man."

Investigation revealed that he had been very active in a number of community groups and organizations, and had held executive positions in a number of them. He was the prime mover in the organization of the Community League, and served

³⁵His father served a two-year term as Mayor of the Town (1907-1909), and his older brother held the same office for a short term in 1918.

as its president for two terms. He guided the affairs of the Town Planning Board as chairman for a period of two years, and had had a hand in the affairs of the school system when he served as trustee for twelve years on the Divisional School Board. Besides participating in civic, political, social and educational organizations he was an ardent supporter of his church, the Roman Catholic Church, and its related organizations. Although he has relinquished membership and office in all but a few organizations his influence appears to pervade many important organizations in the community.

A close business friend of his commented:

He is a most influential man. He knows how to get his ideas and opinions known. He never attends any meetings, belongs to no organizations, yet knows everything that's going on and has his opinions expressed at these meetings in spite of not being there. Many people will not express an opinion until they have first contacted him. He uses no coercion, nor does he appear to use any economic resources to have people consider him, but he has an unexplainable way of influencing people. He is wise, has a keen sense of perception and a keen sense of judgment.

Evidence showed that though he never runs for public office, he is active in nominating individuals for office and in securing their election. CI-1 was known to be in favour of the Civic Electors Association's slate of nominees and on each occasion the entire slate was elected by a handsome margin. The press pointed out that each time a comparatively unknown

candidate topped the polls.³⁶ A pertinent question to be asked at this point is: "Did CI-1's influence reach into the school boards?" For an answer it will be necessary to look back into the records of school board elections. It will be found that in most cases candidates nominated by CI-1 were elected to the Roman Catholic Public School Board. It was also generally felt that the two new members of the board, PSB-5 and PSB-4 were hand picked by CI-1; and, as usual, their election to the board was assured. The selection of candidates for election was not purposeless or indiscriminate on the part of CI-1. He was in close contact with a wide cross section of the population and was kept informed of every development that occurred in the community. He sensed a growing antagonism between extreme Protestant and Catholic elements in the community which, if permitted to continue unchecked, would endanger the harmonious working of the community as a whole. In order to head off a likely rift between public bodies representing the two large sub-communities in the town, he felt that the two school boards needed an infusion of strong neutralizing elements. He admitted:

I worked strongly for _____ and _____ since they were highly educated and well respected. They won with a good majority and this has made a big difference in the board.

³⁶ St. Albert Gazette, October 26, 1963. p. 1.

Since he was not an elector of the Protestant Separate School District, he could not directly nominate or vote for candidates seeking election to the Protestant School Board. But he had friends, influential friends, among the Protestant electors who were identified as "uncommitted moderates." They were equally concerned over recent developments in the community as a result of the activities of so-called "religious fanatics." The moderates were alleged to have promoted the nomination and election of SSB-5 to the Protestant Separate School Board. Later, CI-1 knowingly remarked, "SSB-5's election was what made a big difference in the relationship between the two boards. . . religion and nationality have no room in a small or big town."

Another top influential in the community omitted in the "site-issue" nominations was CI-2, a former mayor of the town and a former member of the Divisional School Board. During his forty-eight years as resident in the community, he had seen the town develop from a small settlement of 600 persons to an active suburban community of nearly 8,000 persons. Beginning in 1935, by sheer dint of hard work, determination to succeed and uncommonly good business ability, he gradually developed his business enterprise until in 1963 it employed eighteen local families on an annual payroll amounting to over \$150,000. In addition to attending to the

affairs of his expanding business interests, he still finds time to participate in the activities of civic, religious, service and social and youth organizations. He belongs to the local Lions Club, and has had the honor of representing the club at three international conventions. He has held the office of Grand Knight for a term during his thirty year membership in the Knights of Columbus. He presides over the affairs of the local Air Cadets organization and continues membership in the Elks Club of Edmonton.

As a successful leader and entrepreneur in the community, he commands considerable respect and influence; and like most men who wield great power, he makes enemies. He is indebted to no man for his success and he seeks no favours. He is coolly independent and abrasively outspoken. To some he appears to have "much of the town in his pocket;" and to others, he is known to have great influence over decisional outcomes in important community affairs. Together with CI-1 and CI-2 he has probably had more to do with the nomination and election of civic and school officials than any other individual in the community.

Summary

To pretend that the list of influentials obtained, using the procedures described above, represents the totality of power and influence in St. Albert, would border

on the naive. Nevertheless, the high consensus regarding the top influentials, and the lack of unanimity regarding other nominations would indicate that the list presented is representative of the network of power and influence in the community, and that the persons nominated are well within the range of the locus of power on the local scene.

Each technique points up the limitations of the other. Two of the most powerful community influentials were not included in the list of influentials secured by "issue analysis" while thirteen individuals identified as having something to do with the agitation and final settlement of the site issue were not to be found in the list of reputed influentials. The findings appear to suggest that there is in the community a general power structure that is associated with issues that affect the community as a whole, while there are also specialized overlapping structures that deal with specific issues in areas of limited scope. Education, apparently, is one such area of activity that occupies a secondary arena in community affairs; and educational issues are generally resolved predominantly by public officials directly involved in the issue. Each of the school boards is controlled directly by a different set of top leaders whose objectives and strategies are to some extent shaped

by small but active groups within the particular segments of the community that are served by each board. As long as the policies of these two boards did not conflict with one another or with the primary center of influence, each went its own way without interference from the others.

When an issue arose over the allocation of a school site the disagreement was settled by ad hoc negotiations and bargaining among the leaders.

CHAPTER V

DECISION-MAKING: SITUATIONAL FACTORS III

Institutionalized public education, like any other social institution, possesses an organization designed and constituted for the achievement of its purposes. Within this organization is to be found a formal structure consisting of a system of hierarchical status positions or offices, each defined in terms of role expectations. Along with the formal organization there exists an informal organization consisting of a network of unspecified interpersonal human relationships between those people occupying positions in the formal structure, and which tends to affect the general functioning of the total organization. This study is concerned with the formal structure only as it sets the limits, and directs the nature of the informal relations developing with it. An attempt is made in this study, through an analysis of role concepts, role percepts, reference group loyalties and patterns of inter-relationships between the board members and the influence structure of the larger community, to determine the system of values, mores, traditions that affect policy-determination.

I. FORMAL RELATIONSHIPS

The Formal Structure

A study of the two school district organizations revealed, either in an explicit written form or in an implicit generally understood form, the existence of a hierarchical structure of official status positions of superordinate-subordinate relationships through which the organization sought to facilitate effective administration. Vertical lines of operating authority and responsibility, as well as horizontal lines of operating relationships were established to provide channels of communication and control.

The pattern of organizational structure adopted by the Roman Catholic Public School District was found to be a flat, unit type of organization in which the superintendent was the only executive officer directly responsible to the board, with all operating employees responsible directly or indirectly to him (Figure 3).

The formal organizational structure adopted by the Protestant Separate School District was found to be somewhat steeper with a dual type of organization involving two executive officers directly responsible to the board.

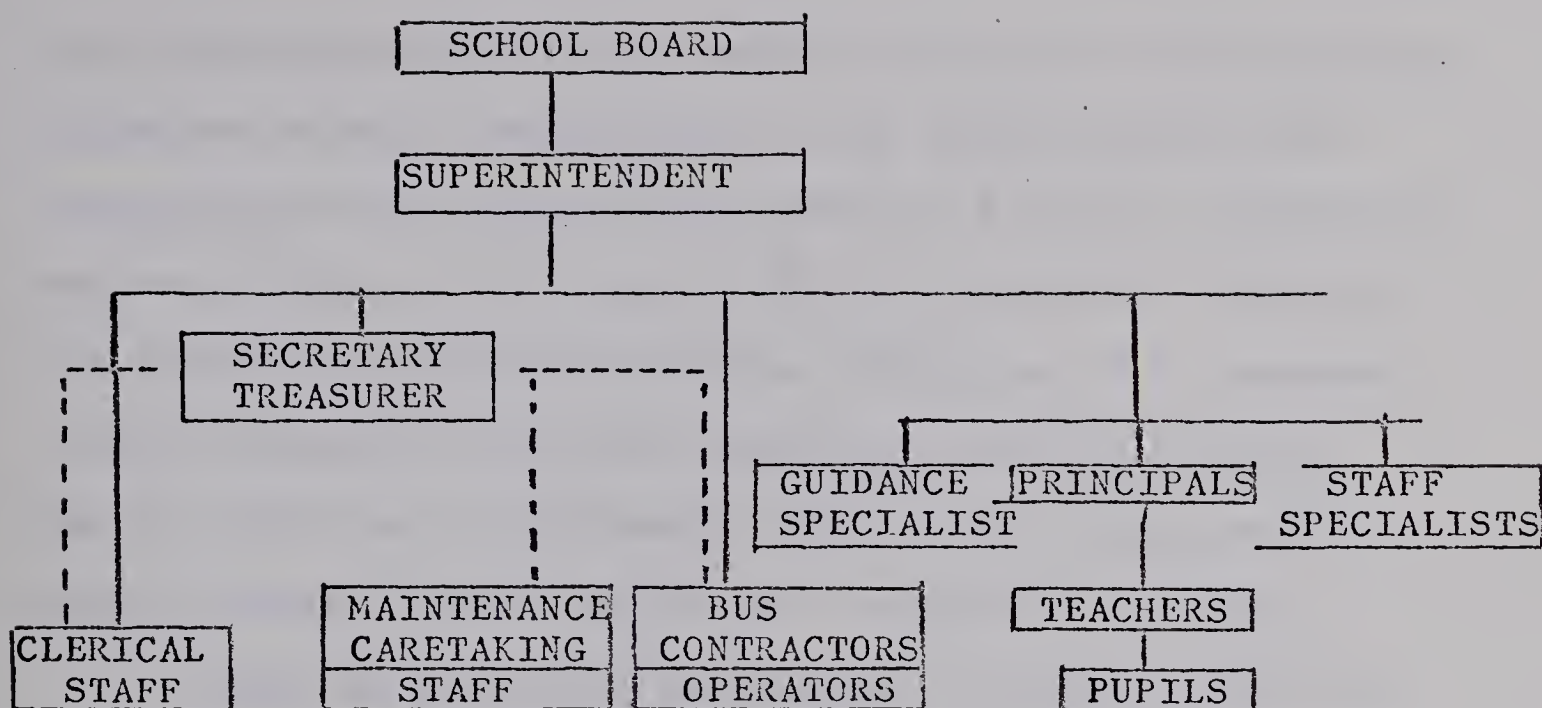


Fig. 3: Organization Chart, St. Albert Roman Catholic Public School District, 1964.

Each had a set of operating employees responsible directly to him (Figure 4).

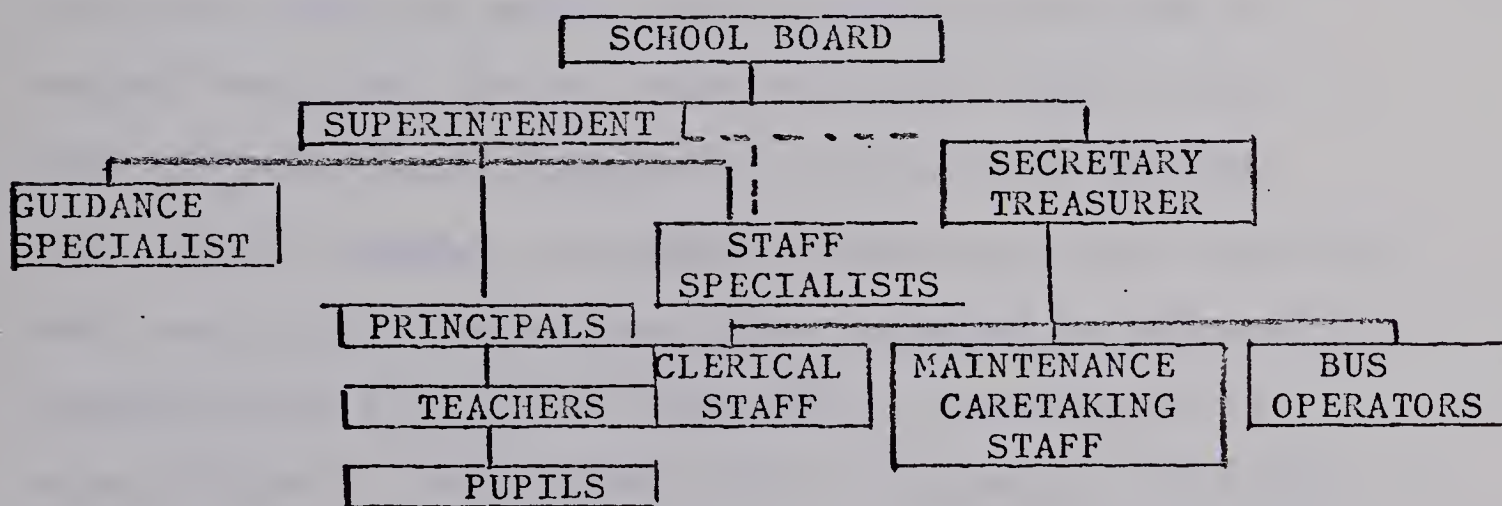


Fig. 4: Organization Chart, St. Albert Protestant Separate School District, 1964.

In this district, the superintendent was the chief executive of the board and was responsible to the board for

the entire operation of the school district. The secretary-treasurer though "responsible to the Superintendent for carrying out the duties of his office,"¹ was the "Executive Business Officer of the board,"² and as such was directly responsible to the board for the drawing up of a proposed budget, preparing financial statements and all matters dealing with the appointment, dismissal and remuneration of all clerical, maintenance and transportation staff.

From the foregoing diagrammatic representations of the organizational structures of the two school districts it is evident that the responsibilities of the two superintendents were not identical. In the first, the superintendent was given complete and sole authority under the board over the entire school system, his span of control was wide, and all communications both to and from the board were expected to be channeled through him. In the second, the span of control of the superintendent was limited to two, and there existed two channels of communication to and from the board. The pattern of organization in each of the school systems was obviously an

¹Policy Handbook, St. Albert Protestant Separate School District. No. 6, p. 38.

²Ibid., p. 40.

outgrowth of the pattern of formal relationships that existed prior to the establishment of the office of "locally appointed superintendent."

Self Roles as Perceived by Board Members

There appeared to be general agreement among the members of the two boards as to what they perceived their roles to be. Data were secured by asking each board member to respond to the question: What, in your opinion are the most important responsibilities of a school trustee? The replies indicated that board members generally felt that their main functions were:

1. To provide the best education possible for the children.

2. To secure and expend judiciously public monies for educational facilities and services.

3. To represent the entire school community and to reflect community thought.

4. To serve as a court of higher appeal.

5. To maintain proper relationships with the superintendent and other employees.

While the members of both boards were in general agreement on the broad concepts of their perceived roles, their individual interpretations of these broad concepts disclosed some interesting variations.

Providers of "quality" education. All the board members agreed that the children should be given the advantages of the best education that could be afforded. However, their individual concepts of what constituted the "best possible education" varied widely.

In the Roman Catholic Public School Board PSB-2 held the opinion that a "good" education was one that enabled every individual to develop to his fullest potential. He was particularly critical of the current system of education which, according to him, was predominantly academic and tended "to grind all students through the same academic mill." He felt that it was the board's responsibility to strive towards the development of a school system that would meet the educational needs and interests of children of all levels of intelligence and ability.

PSB-3 was also critical of the current system of education and felt that it was not meeting the needs of the pupils. He felt that parents, professional educators and educational researchers should be involved in curriculum and program development. He advocated the employing of staff specialists for guidance, reading and speech therapy so that every child could receive the help specifically suited to his needs.

PSB-1 held the view that a good educational system was one that produced good results; and good results are, to a large extent, the end product of good teaching. He conceived one of the board's major responsibilities to be that of appointing well qualified persons to the teaching staff, and of maintaining a high standard of education.

PSB-4 agreed that a high quality of instruction was best secured by employing on the teaching staff, persons who were "well qualified and who took a genuine interest in their work."

To PSB-5, quality in education is best achieved by operating a school system on "educational practices based on and in accord with sound theory." As a recent immigrant from South Africa he found it difficult to reconcile himself to the Canadian system of education which provided for the establishment of "separate" schools by dissentient minorities, and for the education of boys and girls in co-educational institutions. The former, he felt, tended to give rise to "misunderstanding and unhealthy prejudices;" while the latter "cramped teaching style, created disciplinary problems and entailed unnecessary expenditure in school construction." He contended that it was the board's responsibility to operate schools under conditions that would contribute optimally to better

teaching and better learning and that would minimize or even eliminate those factors that tended to detract from the serious business of acquiring knowledge, understanding and skill.

The members of the Protestant Separate School Board were similarly in disagreement in what each conceived to be "good education."

SSB-1 agreed with SSB-2 and SSB-3 that every child should be thoroughly schooled in the basic three R's, regardless of whatever else the school might do. He disagreed however, with the other two in their conviction that it was not the responsibility of the board to provide for the physical exercises and athletic activities of the pupils. These two members maintained that they were on the board to see that the curriculum offered was the "highest and best possible" under the provisions of the "foundation program of financing." They could find no justification whatsoever, for what to them appeared to be a tendency on the part of school boards. to expend disproportionate amounts of money on expensive playgrounds, swimming pools and other facilities of a similar nature which could be used for only a limited period of time each school year. "It is not the school's work to see that Johnny got his exercise," said one, "that's for his parents to attend to."

SSB-4 disagreed with the notion that the school was to be concerned only with the development of the mental faculty of the child. He insisted that the school's responsibility was more inclusive than that, and involved as well, the physical and social development of each individual. He was of the opinion that schools today were guilty of overemphasizing the development of mental and physical skills and neglecting the cultivation of social and moral virtues that set apart the civilized from the barbaric. In order to achieve these desired ends, he claimed that the most important task of the board, next to the selection of a competent superintendent, was the careful selection and retention of teachers who should not only be well qualified academically, but who should be possessed of those personal qualities that would make them exemplars of well adjusted behavior and cultured deportment.

While agreeing with the others "up to a point," SSB-5 held the view that the board should address itself to the task of educating the children for life and preparing them to adequately meet the needs of labor, business and the professions.

Keepers of the public purse. Without exception, the members of the two boards agreed that another one of their major roles was that of "conservators of public funds."

"As a public servant," said one incumbent during an interview, "a trustee is conscience bound to disburse funds wisely and economically." The two words, "wisely" and "economically" succinctly express the basic attitude of the trustees towards their responsibility in the disbursement of public funds. The most difficult task that faced the two boards was the drawing up of the annual budget for the school systems. The residential community had been growing and expanding at such an abnormal rate in recent years that keeping up with current needs taxed the resources of the school boards to the utmost. Furthermore, prediction of future school enrolments had to be based on so many "if's" that planning ahead for future needs involved ever-present risks. The mill-rate struck by the town council was determined, in part, by requisitions made for educational purposes by the two school boards. Both boards, therefore, assiduously endeavored to avoid precipitating a sudden hike in the tax rate in any one year to offset gross inaccuracies in budgeting or unwise spending in the preceding year. "The board must not be accused of upping the cost of education," was the comment of one trustee. In saying this he was reflecting the united thinking of his colleagues with respect to their role of financial conservators.

Almost every item discussed by the boards had financial implications and could neither be discussed nor settled without reference to the monetary obligations involved. The decision on these items depended, to some degree, upon the answers to such questions as: "How much will it cost?" "Who picks up the tab?" "Will it result in the taxpayers having to pay more?" "Is it covered under the Foundation Plan?"

That the members of the boards were tax-conscious was obvious. However, at no time did they uncompromisingly adhere to a "hold the line" policy if the expenditure involved was justifiable and would enhance the breadth and quality of the educational program offered. Expenditures for non-resident tuition fees and transportation expenses for students enrolled in technical courses offered in neighboring vocational schools, library books and instructional aids for schools in the system, additional specialist training for teachers, and such, were willingly approved by the boards. But, habitual absenteeism and persistent "laggardism" on the part of indolent students were not to be condoned, as such behavior, in effect, constituted "a wastage of the tax-payer's dollar on seat warmers."

In keeping an eye on the public purse the board members endeavored to "get the best possible education that

tax money could provide," and to avoid the adoption of any policy, involving the expenditure of tax money, that would obligate the local school district supporters to what they considered to be unwarranted and unjustifiable expense.

Reflectors of community thought. All of the board members agreed that one of the responsibilities which they were expected to assume was that of understanding and reflecting the wishes of the community. All felt that they should be aware of community opinion but relatively few indicated how precisely they would go about determining the consensus of the community.

Table No. XIII gives in tabular form, the responses made by the trustees to the question: "Do you belong to any organization or activity group?" As a group, the members of the Roman Catholic Public School Board seem to detach themselves from the association of local organized groups. One member belonged to three local organizations, three held membership in only one organization, and one abstained from current membership in any group, local or non-local. PSB-2 and PSB-3 indicated, during the interview, that they had formerly held membership in several community organizations and clubs, but had been forced to drop their memberships after accepting responsibilities as school trustees

when they found that the demands of effective and responsible boardmanship necessitated more time and attention than they could otherwise afford.

TABLE XIII

MEMBERSHIPS HELD BY SCHOOL BOARD
MEMBERS IN LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

ORGANIZATION	Board Members									
	Public					Separate				
	PSB-1	PSB-2	PSB-3	PSB-4	PSB-5	SSB-1	SSB-2	SSB-3	SSB-4	SSB-5
Knights of Columbus	x									
Catholic Women's League				x						
Masonic Lodge						x	x			
Canadian Legion	c						x			
Lions Club							x		x	
Curling Club		x				x			x	
Chamber of Commerce									o	
Community League									x	
Centennial Committee										x
Local Library Committee					x					c
Cadets	o								c	c
YMCA										
Scouts									c	

Key: x member
c committee member
o office holder

By comparison, the members of the Protestant Separate School Board were involved in the activities of a larger number of community organizations. One member held active membership in six different organizations, each of two others identified themselves with four local organizations, while

the two remaining members appeared to have successfully avoided membership in local groups, preferring rather to join non-local bodies organized on the lines of their professional or hobby interests. Here again, those who engaged either in a restricted manner or not at all in local organization activities, stated "lack of time" to be the main reason for non-participation.

While Table No. XIII provides information relative to board members' association in and with organized groups, Table No. XIV shows the responses received to questions relating to their contacts in the local community and the extent to which they maintained contact with individuals who were either themselves sources or channels of information on public opinion regarding school affairs.

Responses to question 1 revealed that the majority of the members of both boards were not given to frequent association with school district employees, town officials and provincial government officials. Only two members of the Roman Catholic Public School Board (and these were the two most recently elected to board positions) and one member of the Protestant Separate School Board (who incidentally was the one most active in a wide range of community interests) claimed frequent association with school officials, teachers, other employees of the school district and town officials.

TABLE XIV

SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS' CONTACTS
IN LOCAL COMMUNITY

Contacts	Board Members									
	Public					Separate				
	PSB-1	PSB-2	PSB-3	PSB-4	PSB-5	SSB-1	SSB-2	SSB-3	SSB-4	SSB-5
1. Do you associate frequently with any:-										
school officials?				x	x				x	
teachers?				x					x	
other employees?									x	
town officials?				x	x				x	
prov. govt. officials?										
2. Have you discussed school affairs with:-										
members of your family?		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
neighbors or friends?		x	x	x					x	x
teachers?	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x
school officials?	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
prov. govt. Officials?	x	x				x			x	
3. Has anyone approached you, within the last year for advice on school affairs? Who?										
neighbors or friends?		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
teachers?						x			x	
other employees?						x			x	
school officials?	x	x		x		x			x	
town officials?	x	x				x				x
prov. govt. officials?										

Replies to Question 2 revealed that though the board members did not, as a whole, associate frequently with school officials, teachers, other employees of the school district,

town officials and provincial government officials, they did on occasion, some more frequently than others, discuss school matters with these individuals as well as with neighbors, friends and members of their families. Here, the responses indicated that more members of the Roman Catholic Public School Board engaged in discussions of school affairs with individuals in the community than their counterparts on the Protestant Separate School Board. Some of the latter held decided opinions on the desirability of board members seeking the opinion of every "Dick, Tom and Harry" in the community on issues confronting the board. These members held that personal relations with the staff, other employees, town officials and individual supporters of their school district rendered a board member ineffective.

SSB-1 indicated that he did not believe in getting too close or becoming too friendly with anyone in the community, and that his discussions on school affairs with anyone in the community were conducted on a strictly business-like basis and not as a matter of social interchange or gossip. SSB-3 and SSB-2, also of the Separate School Board, maintained that their contacts with the community in connection with school matters extended no further than providing information sought (and which was available to the public), or correcting the misinformed.

Apart from communicating with the members of their families and school officials (the superintendent and the secretary-treasurer) these gentlemen had no direct contact with others in the community regarding school affairs. The members of the Roman Catholic Public School Board volunteered no comments on the question asked, other than admitting or negating frequent association with the publics indicated.

Two members of each board had had occasion to discuss school affairs with provincial officials in pre-arranged business sessions and as members of a committee appointed by the boards for a specific purpose.

If each of the members of each board established contact with each of the local publics listed (i.e. excluding the provincial officials category) there would be twenty-five available points of contact. On this basis the Roman Catholic Public School Board had maintained twenty-one of the twenty-five or 84 per cent of the available points of contact while the Protestant Separate School Board had maintained seventeen of the twenty-five or 68 per cent of the available points of contact. If discussion of school affairs with the members of their families and school officials were to be discarded, the

first as being a casual domestic exchange of views and the latter as a routine business discussion of issues, the Roman Catholic School Board would be maintaining twelve of fifteen or 75 per cent of the possible points of contact as opposed to seven of fifteen or less than 50 per cent of the possible points of contact on the part of the Protestant Separate School Board. The responses to questions indicate that more contacts were initiated by the two boards than were received.

Responses given by the board members to the question:

If an educational issue, affecting the community should be discussed and received by your board, from which person or persons would you seek opinions or advice, before you make up your mind? Why?

revealed that each member of the Roman Catholic School Board chose a particular person or persons in the community who in his opinion was a particularly reliable sounding board of community opinion or thought. PSB-2 chose a town official, a school official, a fellow board member and a friend. He valued the opinions of the persons named and had confidence in their ability "to assess and evaluate the trend of public opinion to a reasonably high degree." PSB-3 named five persons in the community whose opinions and advice he would seek. Besides a school official and a town official, he chose two personal friends, one of whom was "an active element in community affairs and a

pipeline to the average ratepayer." He also chose to consult his wife who, through being active in community affairs, was able to keep in touch with the general thinking of the women with whom she associated. PSB-4 who did not specifically consult anyone in the community, except a school official and a fellow board member, had a wide circle of friends in the community with whom social contact was maintained. PSB-5 kept himself informed of community thinking through his contacts with the superintendent and certain town officials.

On the Protestant Separate School Board, only two members said they actively sought the reactions of the community to educational trends, proposals and issues. SSB-4 availed himself of every opportunity to discuss school problems with significant individuals, and appeared to know which individuals in the community were in a position to gauge public opinion effectively and reliably. SSB-5, like SSB-4, felt that in order to function effectively as a board member, one should secure the view points of various sectors of the public as to how education and the educational system may best serve the community. He therefore sought the professional point of view from the superintendent, the teachers' point of view from a principal, and a "sampling of public opinion" from an assortment of friends in the community.

The degree of congruence found to exist between expressed ideals and actual behavior during discussions, testified to the sincerity of board members in their pronouncements. If, after evaluating the point of view expressed by one or more of the board's publics, a board member was genuinely convinced of the wisdom of a suggested course of action, he would promote the idea forcefully and tenaciously. For instance, at one board meeting discussion proceeded, in part, as follows:³

Trustee A. Our line of thought was that we need "X" acres for a site.

Trustee B. It (the proposed resolution) does not limit us asking for less than "X" acres.

Trustee C. Do you still feel we should contend for "X" acres?

Trustee B. If we don't, then let's forget the whole thing.

Trustee D. Based on the superintendent's recommendation we should ask for it, in spite of my thinking that a somewhat smaller area would be enough. The two superintendents or the two chairmen can agree on this resolution and the town council can be notified. If the two boards can't settle it, then the town should. But let's get going.

³The discussion referred to here concerned the board's proposed negotiation with the Town Council for a particular piece of land for the erection of a new school building. The demand was based on the projected need of playground space for the anticipated number of pupils to be served by the proposed new school.

Trustee B. I would not consider building the school unless we get adequate acreage. The rate-payers know what I stand for and I'm not going to let them down.

The members of the other board appeared to be equally conscious of the expectations of their publics and endeavored to reflect the thinking of the groups to which they sensed a responsibility. The following dialogue ensued in the course of a discussion at one of their meetings:

Trustee P. . . . I say let's go ahead with our plans. We can go along jointly with the proposal that Site B be the site for the future elementary school; and by giving up Site A we can get additional land in Site C in exchange, so that there will be no charge to us for the land.

Trustee Q: Is this a motion?

Trustee P. Yes'

Trustee R. Do you want to stipulate how many acres?

Trustee Q. At least ten acres.

Trustee S. . . . Just a minute here. Maybe we should not be so specific on Site B. Perhaps we should say 10 acres of public reserve land - an appendix perhaps. . . . The one he (the town's engineering consultant) proposed was on public reserve land. The problem is: shall we take that site or Site B?

Trustee P. I'm thinking in terms of his proposal. Where (on the map) is the proposed site?

Trustee S. It is here.

Trustee P. What is this called? This is what I'm wanting.

Trustee R. This here? It is public reserve land.

Trustee P. That's it - the one involving no expenditure (of money).

Trustee R. That's right.

Trustee Q. That's impossible - it's a coulee - you can't even get a horse through there. That's why the other school board wants to build in the other direction. . . . For 10 acres we will have to go further and take this in.

Trustee S. I think Site B is better and will serve (the neighborhood) better than the one suggested by _____ (the engineer).

Trustee R. I too think Site B is better.

Trustee Q. I'll go along for the sake of harmony. But I will abstain from voting for the record to suggest that our efforts were futile for the last eighteen months, for nothing has changed.

Trustee P. Suppose we do get Site A, what can we do with it?

Trustee Q. It is large enough for a 12 room school which will serve (the neighborhood) for all time.

Trustee P. Do you think it will be sufficient for all time?

Trustee Q. The authorities say so.

Trustee P. But what do you say?

Trustee Q. Other schools don't have much of playgrounds. They play in alleys.

Trustee S. We might have this here too.

Trustee P. Then -

Trustee Q. You have forgotten what I said. Through expediency I'll agree, but I'll not vote. I have enough trouble explaining things to my neighbors.

This was the original plan and the people were promised a school (on this site). Now we are letting them down.⁴

In summing up the situation, it must be said that the contacts made and maintained by the members of the two boards with the community were neither diffuse nor random. Indeed, they could aptly be described as being highly selective and purposeful. Basically, each board member kept in touch with or was approached by supporters predominantly of the school district of which he was a trustee, some exclusively so. Some were active in seeking the reaction of certain elements within their own electorate to policies formulated by the board; while others, particularly of the Protestant Separate School Board, felt that they received sufficient feed-back through the members of their own families, fellow trustees, the superintendent and principals, and directly from those supporters that attended the board meetings that they did not feel the need "to go after it."

All the board members, except SSB-2 and SSB-3, extended their personal contacts beyond the circle of their own school patrons to others who were perceived to be influential in the community as a whole and whose

⁴Words in parentheses were added to indicate places and persons referred to during discussion.

involvement in town and school affairs made their opinions valuable in determining such courses of action in matters affecting the community as a whole.

"Court of higher appeal." Although there was no written policy to this effect, being a court of ultimate appeal was perceived by the members of the two boards to be one of their roles. At no time was any person or group of persons denied the right to present an appeal or to air a grievance before the board, provided prior arrangements were made through the secretary-treasurer for time on the agenda to do so. They believed that if any patron or employee of the school district was dissatisfied with the manner in which board policy was interpreted or applied by the executive officers of the board, he was entitled to a hearing by the board.

Frequently, the superintendent referred to the board cases for hearing and decision when he was in doubt as to exactly what the board's policy might be on a particular matter.

Well over twice as many appeals and requests were presented to the Protestant Separate School Board as were presented to the Roman Catholic Public School Board (Table XV). All the appeals made by members of the school

TABLE XV

NUMBER, SOURCE AND MEANS OF PRESENTATION OF
APPEALS HEARD BY THE PUBLIC AND SEPARATE
SCHOOL BOARDS OF ST. ALBERT DURING
THE PERIOD OCTOBER 1963-June 1964

Source of Appeals	Means of Presentation	No. of Appeals	
		Public School Board	Separate School Board
Patrons	Personally	2	10
Patrons	Superintendent	2	4
Patrons	Board Members	2	5
Staff	Personally (at Superintendent's request)	2	-
Staff	Superintendent	5	11
Staff	Board Member	-	1
Total		13	31

staffs were cleared through the superintendents. Only one complaint was lodged directly with the Protestant Separate School Board through the chairman.⁵ This irregularity was frowned upon by the trustees who insisted that the complaint should have been presented through the superintendent. The two appeals made through board members to the Roman Catholic Public School Board were in regard to buildings and building plans. They were made through

⁵The complaint was made by a school principal in the system who alleged that certain repairs and alterations to the school building, requested by him, had not been carried out.

particular board members because they were known to be on the building committee of the board, and hence were thought to be the appropriate persons to contact. The appeals made by patrons to the Protestant Separate School Board through board members came from friends with whom they were associated in other activities in the community.

From the number of persons appearing personally before the boards to air their grievances, raise questions or to present a proposition for consideration, it would appear that the supporters of the Protestant Separate School District tended to exercise their right and privilege to appeal for a hearing to the highest local authority possible to a far greater extent than their counterparts in the Roman Catholic Public School District.

Administrator-School Board Relationships.

As the top officials in their respective school districts, the two superintendents, apart from the secretary-treasurers, were the only other employees who met regularly with the boards. Board members had to rely on these administrators for information and orientation relevant to issues and problems that confronted the board; and sought their recommendations prior to the formulation and adoption of board policies.

All were agreed that policy-making lay distinctly within the province of the board, while the prerogatives of the superintendent extended through supervision and administration of board policy to policy recommendations on the basis of his technical knowledge and expertise. As one trustee put it, "In matters educational, his views should carry weight, but the board decides on policy."

The members of the Roman Catholic Public School Board respected their chief executive officer and valued his knowledge and judgment. He, on the other hand, maintained their confidence by the way he structured his relationships towards them. At no time in his dealings with the board did he give the impression that he was telling the board what to do. Instead, he endeavored to involve the board either as individuals or in the form of ad hoc committees in the study of current issues and problems concerning the local school system. His advice, when given, was based either on authoritative pronouncements or on prevailing educational practice. Examples of typical discussions that took place at board meetings might well serve to illustrate the relationship between the school board and superintendent during the period of the study. The excerpts reproduced below were taken from two consecutive

meetings in which discussion led to the adoption of policy concerning procedures to be followed in the appointing of school principals.

Meeting 1.

Superintendent: I have a suggestion to make.

Trustee A: Yes, give us yours.

Superintendent: Let us advertise the position and choose the best applicant. If a local person applies and he is as good as any applicant, then we would choose him. We should avoid narrowing down the range of possible applicants. This is what happened last year.

Trustee B: Personally, I think we made a good choice last year.

Trustee C: I'm not saying we didn't make a good choice. But we didn't go about it in the right way. We were overlooking seniority. I'm not bound to seniority; overlooking everything else. But all else being equal I will honor seniority. We were criticized last time for eliminating or ignoring seniority.

Trustee A: Not making it a sole factor though?

Trustee C: No.

Trustee B: We must consider one thing - the qualifications of the man.

Trustee D: I think, all other qualifications being equal, if the man has served us we should recognize this or else there will be no incentive to serve us.

Trustee C: Like in any business organization, the executive officer should present his suggestions.

Trustee E: In business, the choice is made on merit and not on seniority.

Trustee C: By the superintendent advertising the position, seniority will be eliminated.

Superintendent: I don't see that. If by advertising we find a local man as good as any applicant we shall certainly choose him. The applicants can be asked to appear before the board.

Trustee C: I don't think we should require them to appear before the board.

Superintendent: This is the practice followed in appointing principals.

Trustee C: There is no one better qualified than you, (the superintendent). We are willing to accept your advice.

Trustee B: The practice is to accept the superintendent's advice.

Trustee E: Does the decision have to be unanimous?

Trustee C: No, majority only.

Superintendent: I'm looking for direction, that's all.

Trustee B: If there is a man on staff good enough, the superintendent can recommend him.

Trustee C: I think it is better to table this matter and think about it further.⁶

Meeting 2:

Superintendent: In the matter of selecting a principal, it was more or less suggested that recommendations be left up to me. I have not been happy with this suggestion and hence I am bringing it back to the board. I have consulted other superintendents and they have suggested advertising

⁶The discussion centered around proposed procedures to be adopted in recruiting administrative staff for the schools.

the position. If the qualifications of the applicants were equivalent, then the choice should go to the local candidate; if not, then to the best. The screening could be done by the superintendent reducing the number of possible choices to three or five candidates, preferably three. The superintendent can then present these names to a committee for final selection and recommendation to the board. This procedure is sound. We must remember that the office of principal is very important and the tone of the school depends on his leadership. If I should hire a "lemon", I would feel bad. The elected officials should have a voice in the appointment of people to key positions. This is a professional suggestion. I'll be glad to do the screening, but a committee of the board should do the final choosing.

Trustee C: It's a good idea.

Trustee A: What has been done before?

Superintendent: The board has not done this.

Trustee A: I agree we want the best man; but let us be consistent.

Superintendent: I agree seniority counts. But if we have a highly qualified man available, then he is the one we want.

Trustee B: Should this procedure be part of our policy?

Trustee D: I think so.

Trustee A: I feel so and I move we adopt this as policy.

Trustee B: Yes, and let it be written into the policy handbook.

Superintendent: Then, this is a policy procedure?

Trustee B: Yes, if we want a school official, the position will be advertised.

Superintendent: A common requirement is that an applicant for the position of principal should have served previously as a vice-principal.

Trustee D: That should be kept in mind and included in the policy statement.

Superintendent: Was that motion carried?

Trustee D: Unanimously.

PSB-1 believed that since the superintendent was expected to carry out board policy, he should be intimately involved in policy formulation, but that the ultimate responsibility for policy decisions must rest with the board. He felt that the superintendent's recommendations and advice on matters relating to personnel, discipline, community relations and plant and equipment needs of the school system should be acted upon since he was "better qualified than anyone on the board to advise on these matters."

PSB-2 expressed the belief that in certain areas of board discussion trustee opinions should prevail, while in other areas of discussion the superintendent's opinions should prevail. He pointed out that, "Any board, through ignorance of administrative or educational standards might make an error in policy. They should then be subject to the superintendent, and be guided by his thinking."

PSB-3 concurred with PSB-2 that the board must be guided by the recommendations of the superintendent

particularly in the technical aspects of education; but that it was the superintendent's duty to implement and defend board policy once it was made.

PSB-4 commented that the superintendent's "experience and well balanced thinking made his opinions valuable." It was therefore essential that his advice be sought on all board work,

PSB-5 was strongly of the opinion that the board and the superintendent should work unitedly in the administration of the school system. A precise differentiation, according to him, was difficult and perhaps impractical. He felt that the superintendent "should participate in all board discussions, express his opinions on all matters and act in every way as a trustee in school affairs."

It will be seen in the next chapter that the superintendent of the Public School system was indeed a central figure in group interaction, performing mostly as a task leader answering questions, providing information and opinion, and suggesting solutions to problems that faced the board.

While the Board-Superintendent relationship in the Roman Catholic Public School system could be described as fairly well established and stable, the Board-Superintendent

relationship in the Protestant Separate School District could, in comparison, be said to be still in the process of re-adjustment to a new situation.

Prior to the appointment of the superintendent just a few months before, ten trustees were the makers of policy guided by whatever professional advice they could secure from the provincial department of education, other trustees and a few of their key employees. They were, in a sense, pioneers in Protestant Separate School education. They had no history to guide them and no tradition to follow. The chairman, the secretary-treasurer and one other trustee, SSB-4, had been on the school board ever since the inception of the school district in 1958. Two other trustees, SSB-2 and SSB-3, were elected to the board soon after. These five together had an average tenure of 5.5 years out of a possible maximum of six years. The challenges presented in providing a productive educational climate in a rapidly growing area became many and varied, and increasingly difficult to meet. There were more schools to manage, building programs to initiate, future enrolments to project, new trends in educational technology to assess for possible adoption and personnel problems to solve. All these together with external and internal problems that developed, demanded more time than they could afford, and more

technical know-how than their experience in office could provide. Their most pressing need was for the services of a professional who could give leadership to the educational system, furnish expert advice and guidance, interpret and implement policies formulated by the board and bring about better understanding between the board and its various publics. SSB-6 was appointed superintendent of the school district in 1963 with general overall responsibility for the operation of the school system. He was the board's chief executive officer and shared certain administrative tasks with the secretary-treasurer. Policy-making was accepted as clearly being the prerogative and responsibility of the board; while policy-implementation was understood to be a function of the executive officers. At times, however, there appeared to be difficulty in distinguishing between these two functions of administration. It was felt that on occasion the policy-makers interfered with administration and tended to stray beyond their legislative responsibilities. The following discussion which took place during one board meeting would indicate this:

Chairman: On what basis do we promote clerical staff from one category to the next?

Trustee A: Are not staff requirements set out by the Board? Then should not placement in categories be referred back to the Board?

Chairman: I think it should be a matter of

recommendation to the Board.

Trustee B: As a Board and as Trustees we cannot tell whether these people belong in category 1, 2, 3 or 4. But these administrators can.

Administrator 1: It will depend on the duties that the girl is called upon to perform.

Administrator 2: The salary schedule is Board policy. But where the people are placed on the salary grid is an administrative function.

Chairman: But what will prevent stenographers from being classified under category 3 (secretaries)?

Administrator 2: Categories should be described and then people should be placed in the categories.

Trustee A: Who decides the categories?

Trustee B: The Board.

Trustee A: Would it not be better to present staff categories to the Board?

Administrator 2: This is already stated in the policy handbook.

Chairman: Then we have nothing to say as to whether we have one in category 1, or two in category 2 or one in category 3 and so on?

Administrator 2: No. They will be placed in a category corresponding to their qualifications and responsibilities.

Trustee B: We are here to settle the wage scale only and nothing else.

Trustee A: It will be easier if you had an established policy and filled the positions without referral to the Board.

Chairman: I think you are entitled to two good workers in the office, but I don't think we can have two private secretaries.

Trustee B: At the present time, I don't think the system is big enough to have two private secretaries.

Administrator 2: We don't have it now, but as time goes on, we will need this category to take care of the girls who will be doing the job.

Trustee B: I move that the recommended salary schedule be accepted.

Chairman: Shall we leave it to the superintendent and the secretary-treasurer to do the classification in the categories outlined?

Trustee B: This is what I say. We are not qualified to do this.

The school system was in its sixth year of operation. For five years it operated without the services of a professionally trained locally appointed superintendent. During the time some essential administrative duties were carried out by standing committees of the Board while others were delegated to the secretary-treasurer. As the district continued to grow in student population, an increasing number of teachers were employed in order to offer an expanding curriculum. The need for supervision of the educational program became apparent and supervisory duties for the whole system were made part of the responsibility of one of the school principals. This arrangement, though workable in a restricted sense, was obviously not ideal at best. It lacked coordination and articulation. It thus created three or more loci of power, each more or less independent of the other for its authority and all directly responsible to the Board.

When the office of superintendent was created, these distributed administrative responsibilities and delegated powers were withdrawn from the ones who had carried them out for nearly five years and placed in the hands of an "outsider". The surrender and transfer of power and authority to the new position, and the acceptance of the consequent superordinate-subordinate relationship between the roles in the modified organizational structure were neither easily nor readily made.

While conceding the selection of teachers to be a responsibility of the superintendent, SSB-4 remarked, "I am jealous of this responsibility since the teacher is the ultimate example of acceptable behavior and deportment as far as the children are concerned." And again, "Teachers should have access to the board; this is so as to have a check on the superintendent and his relationship with the teachers." These opinions were not shared by the majority of the board who maintained that the superintendent was the chief executive officer of, and professional advisor to, the board and that the trustees should so relate themselves to the superintendent and the affairs of the school system as not to interfere or obstruct their administrative head in the discharge of his duties.

SSB-3 commenting on the relationship of the board to the superintendent said, "I see the superintendent as an

advisor and chief executive of the board in all matters pertaining to organization and education. This is where his training lies, and I hope they give him a chance to do so."

In most cases, and particularly in technical matters, the board members sought the advice and direction of the superintendent. In matters involving community groups, use of school buildings for other than school purposes, increase in budgetary expenditures for additional or more highly qualified staff and such, his recommendations, if accepted at all, were accepted after very thorough discussion and questioning. The need to scrutinize the recommendations of the superintendent on some of these matters evidently stemmed from the feeling that he was new to the school district and was therefore not fully aware of all the issues related to a particular problem. At no time, however, did the board embarrass the superintendent; and the superintendent, on the other hand, was cautious to avoid taking any step that he was unsure of, or to make any commitment that might embarrass the board.

A misunderstanding occurred on one occasion with respect to a request made by the high school students for

permission to use their new gymnasium for the annual school dance. Unknown to each other, the board and the superintendent took opposite sides in considering the request. In the superintendent's opinion the request was legitimate, and the arguments advanced in support of the request were reasonable. He therefore reacted favourably towards the petition. The board, on the other hand, dealt with the request in a routine fashion, and denied permission on the basis of an unwritten regulation restricting the holding of dances to one specific school gymnasium in the system. This regulation, of which the superintendent was unaware, had been adopted in the interests of keeping maintenance costs of gymnasium floors to a minimum, since dancing was generally considered to be detrimental to floor surfaces not primarily designed for this type of activity. Upon subsequently discovering that the board had made a decision contrary to the action taken by the superintendent, the chairman apologized to the superintendent for the misunderstanding that had arisen.

This spirit of "give and take" characterized the relationship between the board and the superintendent, and might have been due to the manner in which the

superintendent structured his relationship to the board. He recognized the extent to which the board relied upon him for information and advice on technical matters pertaining to education, and felt that he "wouldn't ever see his position to approach them on the blind side if he was aware of it." He would "attempt to give a fair picture, examining both sides of a question under consideration, and would never knowingly withhold relevant information even though it may not support his own personal point of view." In return he "never felt that the trustees were cross-examining him because they felt that he was deliberately withholding pertinent information from them." He readily deferred to their opinions in areas in which they were particularly knowledgeable by virtue of their special experience, training or avocation. Having been but a short time in the community he did not feel that he was in a position as yet to assess, with any degree of accuracy, community values and ideals. As a professionally trained educational administrator, he was conscious of the fact that the values he held basic to his own philosophy of education were

essentially professionally oriented, and that there was an everpresent danger of these professional values being overemphasized to the neglect of the set of values held by the electorate. He hoped therefore, that the Board, whom he assumed to be sensitive to the ideals and aspirations of the community because of their comparatively long term of residence in the town and association with school affairs, would act as a check on youthful overexuberance, and as a stabilizing influence to ensure that the administration did not go beyond, or counter to, community expectations for their schools. In reviewing the events and his experiences in the time during which he held office, he "could not recall a precise instance in which he initiated a policy action that was summarily rejected by the Board."

The majority of the Board members expressly stated that they viewed the superintendent as the chief executive of the Board charged with the responsibility of carrying out Board policies. There was also general agreement in the view that the superintendent should advise and recommend policy.

Four of the five members of the Roman Catholic Public School Board consulted their superintendent for information and opinion, while only two of the five members of the Protestant Separate School Board indicated that if an

educational problem affecting the community were to arise, they would seek the advice and guidance of the superintendent.

It is further interesting to note that the Protestant Trustees tended to see their superintendent strictly as a technical advisor to the Board. Whenever his assistance was sought it usually tended to be in connection with factual information that was desired, or the findings of reliable research on an educational problem. The majority of the Roman Catholic Trustees, on the other hand, looked to their superintendent for opinion, advice and direction not only in technical matters relating to education, but on all matters having to do with the management, control and operation of the school system. One might perhaps expect such a difference in relationship to exist between these bodies of policy-makers and their respective top executives when one recalls that: (1) in the Roman Catholic Public School system, the superintendent had served in an administrative capacity over a longer period of time than any trustee had held office. In fact, his years as an administrator in the school system exceeded the total number of years of trusteeship served by four of the five members of the Board, put together. In the Protestant Separate School system the situation was reversed. The superintendent was new to the community and to the school

system, while all but one of the trustees had held office on the Board almost from, if not since, its inception. (2) PSB-6 had previously held office on the Board of Administrators of the town from 1959-1962. He had entered local politics with the knowledge and consent of the school board; and as a result of his direct experience in civic administration, he was knowledgeable in matters of municipal financing and operation as it related to education and schools in the community. While SSB-6 had had no previous experience in local politics, two of the members of the Protestant Separate School Board had been involved in municipal affairs, one as a member of a former Board of Administrators, and the other currently as the Town Council's Engineering Consultant.

Members of the two boards were unanimously agreed that the superintendent should be the educational leader for the school district. They expected him to keep abreast of current ideas and practices in education and to advise the Board of any changes or innovations that he considered necessary to improve or increase the educational services provided for the community. They expected him to supervise closely the work of the staff and to be selective in his recommendations for tenure. "He should hold on to the good teachers and get rid of those not doing a good job," said

SSB-1. They were also agreed that the superintendent should provide the liaison between the Board and the staff, presenting and interpreting the views of the Board to the staff; and, in turn, keeping the Board informed of the staff's desires, needs and aspirations. Some held strong opinions, however, as to where the superintendent's loyalties should lie in case of a conflict between the Board and the teachers. "Since he is the Board's advisor, he is the Board's man and should support the Board," said PSB-1. "He is an employee of the Board and hence I expect him to be the Board's man," said PSB-5. "He must be on the Board's side. He is not hired to look after the teachers' interests; he is hired to do the Board's work and to carry out its policies," said SSB-4. SSB-3 was more compromising on this subject and said, "He is the Board's advisor and guide and should help us when we run into trouble with the teachers."

All the members of the two Boards believed that the superintendent should be "the Board's number one public relations man." They realized the importance of keeping the public informed of what was taking place in the schools, and expected the superintendent to interpret the Board's proposals, plans and policies for the school district to the community at large. In this regard, the members of the

Protestant Separate School Board appeared to be more concerned than the members of the Roman Catholic Public School Board. This greater concern could conceivably have been due to the awareness of the members to the conflictful situation in which they operated, and the social and cultural heterogeneity of the sub-community they served.

The Superintendents' Concept of Board Roles

The two superintendents were ex-officio, non-voting members of their respective boards. Learned in the social process of administration which, in a social context, is vitally concerned with human interactions, these men brought to their positions considerable knowledge gained through formal studies in schools of educational administration. Their approach to the business of administering the school system was essentially theory-based, modified by their practical experience gleaned from the positions and responsibilities they formerly held. This was especially true of the superintendent of the Roman Catholic Public School system whose expectations held for the role of trustee in the system were, to some extent, shaped by his intimate acquaintance with the system and its local operations.

Both superintendents were agreed that the board should be the policy-determining body, and that policy once formulated must be considered as binding. Consequently, it was important that policy decisions be arrived at only after very careful study and deliberation. In accepting office, they expected the trustees to make the necessary sacrifices and to dedicate time, energy and talent to the task of developing the know-how of effective boardmanship, central to which was wise decision-making. Policy decisions, they felt, should not be based upon snap judgment but upon a careful consideration of all available information relevant to the problem under discussion.

More specifically, the superintendent of the Roman Catholic Public Schools expected his board members to be guided by:

- (a) their own background of training and experience,
- (b) authoritative information compiled by the superintendent and the secretary-treasurer,
- (c) group discussion around the table,
- (d) recommendations of the superintendent,
- (e) a study of professional literature,
- (f) informal discussion and conversation with the parents in the school district,

- (g) the thinking of local interest groups, and
- (h) the dominant feelings of the community as a whole.

Elaborating further, the superintendent thought that members of the board should avail themselves of every possible opportunity to acquaint themselves personally with the actual operation of the schools in the system. He would like to see them attend locally sponsored institutes at which special speakers were invited to present discourses on a variety of topics of educational interest. He believed that attendance at these and other seminars, conferences and workshops on school administration, at regional and provincial levels, would provide board members an opportunity to meet and interact with others sharing similar interests, and to be exposed to the latest ideas and practices in educational administration. In this way the board would also be developing good public relations.

The superintendent was not in favor of the board's working through "standing committees" as they tended to get too heavily involved and to interfere somewhat with either the legislative functions of the board as a whole or the executive functions of the administration. He would rather see the board set up ad hoc committees to deal with particular or non-recurring problems and to report their findings and recommendations to the board.

During the course of the year, the superintendent was responsible for suggesting to the board the appointment of a special committee including two or three board members. This committee was set up to look into such matters as curriculum expansion, modern trends in educational organization and programming, and the effectiveness of newly introduced teaching devices.

The responses made by the superintendent of the Protestant Separate School system though reflecting similar expectations in general tended to be less definitive and more permissive. The superintendent expected the board to look to him for advice and recommendation on all matters directly dealing with or related to curriculum and instruction. At the same time, he expected the members of the board to evaluate his recommendations on the basis of their knowledge and experience in the community, and to exercise discretion in adapting his suggestions in order to produce the most desirable outcomes. In his own words he expected the board "to act as a balance or governor on overexuberance or ill considered policies of the administration." He appeared to be conscious of the fallibility of human judgment in the absence of a fairly reliable understanding of the social context within which an individual operates and was perfectly willing to defer to opinions

and suggestions based on a wider and more intimate knowledge of the circumstances surrounding a particular situation. He expected the board to support him as their chief executive in administration "except in extreme circumstances," when a course of action adopted by him should, in the best interests of the school system and the persons involved, be averted.

The difference in the manner in which the two superintendents perceived their relationship to their respective boards was most marked in the matter relating to the observance of lines of communication in the formal structure. The superintendent of the Roman Catholic Public School system insisted upon a strict observance of the line relationship within the hierarchical structure of the formal organization. "Teachers never apply to the board or the secretary-treasurer, but come to the superintendent," he said. "There was only one case where board members recently communicated with a teacher; but when this violation of standard procedure was brought to their attention they desisted," he continued. The superintendent screens all applicants for positions in the school system, and appointments are made in all cases only upon his recommendation. By following this procedure in the recruitment and appointment of staff, he feels he is able

to control the quality of staff hired and to "keep out" potential problem-makers. The newness of the superintendent of the Protestant Separate School system, as well as the fact that there were at least two employees of the school system in administrative positions who had seniority of service over him, were reflected in his attitude towards a rigid policy of non-violation of strict lines of communication. He tended to be more flexible, and expected the board to act as a court of last appeal for any employee of the system who believed that he had been unfairly or unjustly dealt with by the superintendent. He recognized the board as a higher authority than himself and was quite willing to have individuals appeal to the board if they were dissatisfied with his decisions on matters affecting them, but would not condone any deliberate short circuiting of formal procedures encouraged by individual board members.

Self Roles as Perceived by the Superintendent

As may be expected of professionally trained educational administrators, the two superintendents perceived their role to be essentially one of educational statesmanship. There was a job to be done, efforts to be coordinated and directed, and goals to be achieved. They considered the "how" of their responsibilities to be a challenge to their ingenuity, resourcefulness and professional

competence. As the superintendent of the Protestant Separate School district put it: "I see myself as the educational leader for the district - to implement my views, concepts and philosophy of education. If my views are not reflected within a period of five years, I would consider myself as having failed to accomplish my purpose." Both of them were responsible for the preparation of the agenda with the assistance and cooperation of the secretary-treasurers of their respective school districts. Neither one considered himself to be the business manager in the sense of carrying on the routine financial transactions of the school district. These matters were left entirely up to the secretary-treasurers and the finance committee of each board. Both however, felt it was their responsibility to help draw up the budget because the budget was a monetary reflection of the educational program of the district both in scope and quality which in turn reflected the type of leadership being given to the system by the superintendent. An important part of their responsibilities, therefore, was to make recommendations to the board. The former did not expect or insist that the board accept his views and recommendations on all issues,

To his way of thinking, "an administrator expects to lose a few battles in a desire to win the war." Consequently, he was not disposed to "taking as strong a position on minor issues as he would on major issues," affecting the overall educational purposes of the school system.

In matters upon which they had no strong preferences, the superintendents believed, they served the Board best by providing all the necessary information available on the matter, laying before the trustees the various alternatives with the possible consequences of each alternative course of action, and then allowing them (the trustees) to use their discretion in choosing that alternative that would best advance the cause of the school district. Where there was unanimity on the part of the Board members in the choice of one alternative from among those proposed, this procedure appeared acceptable. But in cases where there was less than unanimity among the Board members, the superintendent was forced to take a definite stand. The researcher recalls only one instance of this happening during a meeting of the Protestant Separate School Board.

In order to avoid a sharp split in the Board over a particular issue, the superintendent provided all the necessary information surrounding the problem, but

deliberately refrained from expressing his own preference for a solution because of the strong but mutually contrary convictions held by certain board members. He explained that he did not want to make a recommendation because of the "political nature of the issue." The trustees held that the administrator is employed to provide technical advice and that he should give this advice "regardless of whether it hurts anyone." The rest of the meeting which lasted for twenty minutes consisted of a debate upon the moral obligations of the administrator to advise his board frankly and honestly, and whether or not it was ethical for the board to put the administrator "on the spot." No recommendation was made and no decision was reached. Before the next board meeting was convened, the superintendent clearly perceived that one of his duties was to advise the board, regardless of the views held by individual members, substantiating his advice with authoritative research findings.

Both of the superintendents were conscious of the dual role in which they were cast. On the one hand, each felt that he was expected to support his respective board as its chief executive in implementing the decisions made by that legislative body. As a ~~liaison~~ liaison between the board and the teaching staff, the superintendent of the Protestant

Separate School District indicated that "he would defend the policies of the Board - but, on occasion, would be willing to recognize an individual policy as not being as good as it might be." He would "defend the Board's right to make the policy and insist on its implementation till it was changed." The attitude of the superintendent of the Roman Catholic Public School District, in this respect, tended to be less compromising. He felt that he expected to reflect the Board's view to the staff - but his "loyalty and support of policy decisions made by the Board would be a matter of judgment." He was an employee of the Board and was directly responsible to it. As long as the policy pronouncements of the Board were made in good faith, and did not negatively affect the teaching-learning process in the school system he would support them. If the policy was of a discriminating, unjust or indefensible nature and its implementation unwise, he would try to persuade the Board to his point of view. If his attempts met with no success, and the Board adamantly refused to budge from what he considered to be an "untenable" position, he would resign.

On the other hand both of them were of the opinion that as professional educators they were expected to reflect the views of the profession to their respective Boards.

Each would endeavor to promote the welfare of the academic staff, but would strenuously avoid all involvement in salary negotiations. They would defend the teaching staff against criticisms of the Board or of the community if such criticisms were unwarranted, unjustified and found to have no basis in fact. Both were aware of the possibility of the dual aspects of their role being in conflict and that there would be occasions when "it would be impossible to please everybody."

The matter of establishing and maintaining good public relations in the community was considered vital to the well-being and progress of the school system. The public, in general, had to be kept informed if support for policies adopted for the running of the schools was expected. Each of the superintendents assumed that the responsibility for effecting good public relations in the district was not his alone, but rested to some extent on the shoulders of the trustees and the secretary-treasurer. With the exception of church membership, the superintendent of the Protestant School District had not as yet sought or accepted membership in any of the local clubs or organizations. This perhaps may have been due partly to the fact that he was new to the community, and was busy getting settled in his work and neighborhood; and partly to the fact that many of

the board members belonged to a variety of local organizations in active membership thus decreasing the urgency for him to be involved in community activities outside of his official commitment. His counterpart in the Roman Catholic School District was active in his church and in Knights of Columbus. He belonged to the Lions Club and maintained close contact with the town and leaders of groups that he considered to be influential. Both men were in favor of their wives taking an active part in social and church affairs in the community.

II. INFORMAL RELATIONSHIPS

"Small social groups⁷ occupy a strategic position as determiners of the behavior and attitudes of their members," according to Festinger, Schachter and Back.⁸

"They exert influences on their attitudes, on their behavior and even on the kinds of activities in which their members engage."⁹ The authors recognized at least three

⁷A social group is here defined as "a plurality of individuals who are in contact with one another, who take one another into account, and who are aware of some significant commonality." See M.S. Olmsted, The Small Group (New York, Random House, 1959), p. 21.

⁸Leon Festinger, Stanley Schachter and Kurt Back, Social Pressures in Informal Groups, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1963), p. 3.

⁹Ibid., p. 7.

general sources of pressures that produce a large measure of uniformity in members of a group. One source of pressure resides within the individual himself, "who has accepted many values and ideologies during the process of socialization." A second source derives from "formalized rules and institutionalized behaviors," while other pressures "depend on relatively subtle influences which are exerted during the normal communication process among members of the group."¹⁰

Two assumptions were made in investigating the influence patterns operative within the school boards and affecting the decision-making process. The first was that some board members were more influential than others in affecting policy decisions in certain areas; and the second was that individual members were capable of sensing the influence patterns and identifying the agents of influence.

Intraboard Patterns of Influence

In Part I of the Interview Schedule, each of the seven members that interacted on a face to face basis in the process of policy discussion and formulation, was asked to indicate the three persons of the group that he perceived to be the most influential, the next most influential and

¹⁰Ibid. Ch. 9.

the third most influential in each of five selected areas of policy decision.¹¹

The data were set out in tabular form showing the choices made by each individual and assigning rank 1 to the person perceived to be the most influential, rank 2 to the next most influential and rank 3 to the third most influential. Since three choices were made out of a possible seven alternatives, the remaining four persons were arbitrarily assigned the rank of 5.5, thus giving equivalent ranking to each of the unchosen four. Using Garrett's formula and conversion table, each order of merit (i.e. rank) was transmitted into units of amount or a "score."¹² Thus rank 1 represented a score of 79, rank 2 a score of 66, rank 3 a score of 57 and rank 5.5 a score of 39. The aggregate scores received by individuals provided the basis upon which the members of the group were ranked in order of perceived influence in the particular area of decision-making under consideration. These final rankings were, in turn transmuted into units of amounts

¹¹The seven involved in the formal discussion of policy items were the five board members, the superintendent and the secretary-treasurer of the school district.

¹²Henry E. Garrett, Statistics in Psychology and Education, (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1953), pp. 324-325.

using Garrett's conversion formula and table. The resulting scores were assigned an overall rank in order of decreasing magnitude, and are shown recorded in column 7 of Table XVI.

An examination of Table XVI reveals some interesting relationships:

1. Within the Roman Catholic Board Group, influence was perceived to be confined to or concentrated in four of the seven members, while influence was perceived to be widely dispersed over the whole of the Protestant Board Group, each one wielding an appreciable amount of influence in at least one area of responsibility. This observation is supported by the high degree of correlation ($p = 0.89$) between rows 6 and 7 for the former group as compared with the relatively lower correlation ($p = .063$) between the same rows of the latter: in other words the locus of influence was more easily discernible in the Roman Catholic Group than in the Protestant Group.

2. The chairmen of both boards, PSB-1 and SSB-1, were perceived to exert considerable influence over a number of areas of decision-making.

3. The superintendents of both boards were perceived to be most influential particularly in the area of curriculum construction and development and in the area of recruiting and supervision of teaching personnel. PSB-6 appeared to

TABLE XVI.

BOARD MEMBERS AND ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICERS OF ST. ALBERT SCHOOL
DISTRICTS RANKED IN ORDER OF PERCEIVED INFLUENCE IN
FIVE SELECTED AREAS OF EDUCATIONAL DECISION-MAKING

Areas of Influence	Board Members													
	Roman Catholic Public							Protestant Separate						
	PSB-1	PSB-2	PSB-3	PSB-4	PSB-5	PSB-6	PSB-7	SSB-1	SSB-2	SSB-3	SSB-4	SSB-5	SSB-6	SSB-7
1. Teacher Personnel	4	3*	2*	6.5	6.5	1	5	2*	6.5	6.5	4	3*	1	5
2. Curriculum	4.5	3	2*	4.5*	6*	1	7	2*	7	6	3	4*	1	5
3. Sites and Building	1*	3*	4	6	6	2	6	5	1*	2*	3	6	4	7
4. Finance	1	3	2*	7	6*	4	5	2	5	6*	4*	7	3	1
5. Community Groups	3	1	6	5	7	2	4	3	6.5	6.5	1	4	5	2
6. General Influence	1	4	3	6	6	2	6	2	6.5	3	1	4	5	6.5
7. Overall Rank	2	3	4	6	7	1	5	2	7	6	1	5	3	4

*Member of standing committee with responsibilities in area indicated

□ Cases in which member correctly ranked himself among the top three influentials but differed with rank assigned him by the group.

○ Cases in which member's ranking of self coincided with rank assigned him by the group.

be significantly influential in many areas of policy decision, and in fact, by subjecting the rank order of influence perceptions to the transmutation procedures of Garrett, he was indeed the most influential member of the group. It is interesting to note that though not seen as being influential in the area of finance by four members (including himself) of the group, he was rated as having considerable influence in decisions affecting finance by three members of the group, two of whom comprised the finance committee. This would seem to indicate that his opinions and recommendations on matters either directly or indirectly affecting the finances of the school system were given more than casual consideration by those delegated to study and recommend financial policy.

In addition to being seen as most influential in affecting decisions in the areas of curriculum and teaching personnel, Superintendent SSB-6 was perceived to be somewhat influential in the determination of fiscal policy. One of his duties, as outlined in the board's policy handbook was to examine in conjunction with the secretary-treasurer of the school district, "all budget estimates for instructional aids, and prepare all necessary information covering instructional staff for inclusion in the annual

budget."¹³ And since instructional staff salaries and instructional aids accounted for at least 75 per cent of the school district's operational budget, his influence in determining financial policies was readily seen by the secretary-treasurer, recognized by SSB-4 who was one of the members of the two-man finance committee, and expected by SSB-5 who was the only newcomer to board membership. Like PSB-6, SSB-6 did not consider himself particularly influential in affecting policy decisions on finance apart from those matters directly relating to educational facilities and personnel.

4. Board committees appointed to assist the board in its managerial functions were seen to be variously influential in swaying policy decisions within the areas of their jurisdiction. The building committees of both boards (PSB-1, PSB-2, SSB-2 SSB-3) were perceived to affect strongly the board's thinking on matters of building construction, maintenance and location. Together with the superintendent, the education committees (PSB-3, PSB-4, PSB-5. SSB-1, SSB-5) were seen as having influence in the areas of curriculum development and personnel. On the Roman

¹³Policy Handbook, St. Albert Protestant Separate School District No. 6 (mimeograph), p. 43A.

Catholic Public School Board it will be noted that PSB-2 who was not a member of the education committee was considered more influential in this area than either of the two members appointed to serve with PSB-3. This may have been because of two reasons: (a) these two members were newly elected to board membership and probably were yet in the process of getting adjusted to their new responsibilities, and (b) PSB-2 collaborated with PSB-3 on the board's two-man salary negotiation committee.

With the exception of PSB-3, the members of the finance committees of the two boards were not perceived by their colleagues as being particularly influential in affecting policy decisions in finance. Instead, the chairman and PSB-2 of the Public School Board, and the chairman and secretary-treasurer of the Separate School Board, and the chairman and secretary-treasurer of the Separate School Board were recognized as being most influential in affecting board decisions in matters relating to finance.

5. Were the individuals perceived as wielders of influence aware of their own powers of influence in specific areas of board decision? The circled ranks are those which correspond precisely with those the individuals assigned themselves. The square boxes around the ranks

indicate those cases where the individual ranked himself first, second or third in influence but differed from the composite ranking made by the entire group. It is quite evident from the table that the perceived influentials were aware of the fact that their opinions carried weight in certain particular areas of discussion.

Patterns of Internal Group Structure.

The techniques of socio-metric analysis were employed to provide further insight into the structure of human relationships within the two policy-determining bodies. It is assumed in this study that affective bonds and the tendency to form them exist in the two groups under consideration. "This network of affective relationships," says Olmsted in concluding a discussion of the two psychoanalytic contributions to the study of affective relationships made by Freud and Real,

. . . need not be confined to the like-dislike dichotomies of sociometry, . . . emotional attachments of various kinds can be converted into other kinds of attachments, can be repressed or rechanneled, and furthermore, that without such transformations human association would be all but impossible.¹⁴

The data for the analysis of the network of communications were secured from responses to the question:

¹⁴Michael S. Olmsted, The Small Group, (New York: Random House, 1965), pp. 100, 101.

"Which other members of your board group do you frequently consult in regard to problems confronting the board?" The respondents were members of the two school boards, their superintendents and their secretary-treasurers.

The choices indicated were treated sociometrically in an endeavor to determine the number of paths of influence that existed among the members of the group, who could influence whom, the number of individuals in the group that could be influenced by any single member, and the nature of the indirect influence chains that might have existed. The sociometric choices were further subjected to some simple manipulations of matrix algebra, as suggested by Festinger, Schachter and Back in order to analyze such interrelationships within the group as sub-group formations and cliques.¹⁵

The matrix presentation of socio-metric patterns within each board is made in Figures 5a and 5b. The individuals in the group are listed in the rows and columns in the same order. The choices made by an individual are shown by placing the number 1 in a square at the intersection of the row representing the one receiving the choice.

¹⁵Festinger, Schachter and Back, op.cit., Ch. 8.

	<u>Given To</u>						
	PSB-1	PSB-2	PSB-3	PSB-4	PSB-5	PSB-6	PSB-7
<u>Given By</u>							
PSB-1			1	1		1	
PSB-2			1			1	
PSB-3	1					1	
PSB-4			1		1	1	
PSB-5			1			1	
PSB-6			1	1	1		
PSB-7				1	1	1	

Fig. 5a

Fig. 5a Matrix presentation of Sociometric Pattern in Roman Catholic Public School Board.

Looking across any row will thus reveal the choices made by that individual, while looking down any column will reveal the persons from whom choices were received by that individual.

An inspection of the matrices presented in Figures 5a and 5b and the sociograms shown in Figures 6a and 6b reveal the following facts:-

1. There were four mutual choices involving five members in the Roman Catholic Public School Board. The

	<u>Given To</u>						
	SSB-1	SSB-2	SSB-3	SSB-4	SSB-5	SSB-6	SSB-7
<u>Given By</u>							
SSB-1				1	1	1	
SSB-2	1		1				
SSB-3				1			
SSB-4	1				1		1
SSB-5	1						
SSB-6	1			1	1		
SSB-7	1					1	

Fig. 5b

Fig. 5b. Matrix Presentation of Sociometric Pattern in Protestant Separate School Board.

superintendent, PSB-6, was involved in three of these mutual choices. Four members of the Protestant Separate School Board were involved in three mutual choices. The chairman of the board, SSB-1 was included in all of these.

2. The superintendent, PSB-6, was the main focal point of direct frequent consultation within the Roman Catholic Public School Board. He was chosen by the rest of the group as the one whom each consulted most frequently on problems confronting the board. PSB-3 constituted a

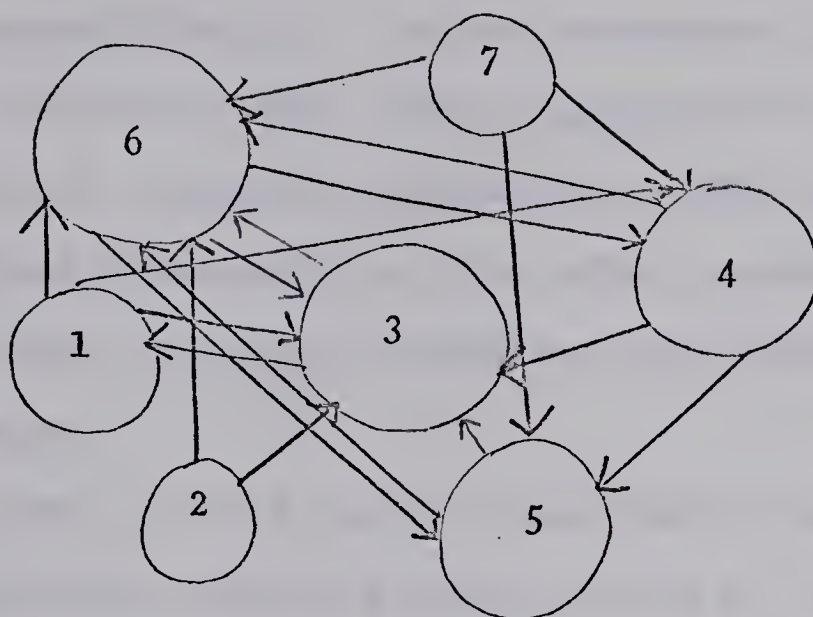


Fig. 6a Sociogram of choices made within the Roman Catholic Public School Board.

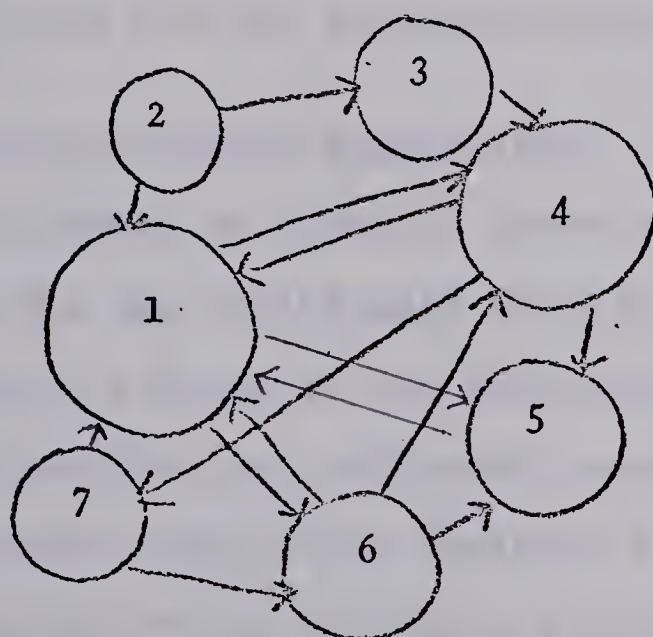


Fig. 6b Sociogram of choices made within the Protestant Separate School Board.

second focal point, though to a slightly lesser extent than the superintendent. In the Protestant Separate School Board, on the other hand, there appeared to be one distinct focal point of frequent consultation. The chairman, SSB-1, was consulted frequently by five other members, while SSB-4 and SSB-5 were each consulted frequently by three other members.

3. SSB-2, SSB-3 and the secretary-treasurer, SSB-7, of the Protestant Separate School Board all confined their frequent consultations to one or two of the other members of the board, and were in turn chosen by either one or more members for frequent consultation. A similar situation existed in the Roman Catholic Public School Board with respect to PSB-2 and the secretary-treasurer, PSB-7.

Two-step indirect connections. Interactions between any two individuals in a social group do not always remain confined to the two individuals involved, but often extend beyond to other friends of the interacting agents. The way in which information and influence spread in the group structure depends upon these indirect two-step connections, and the behavior of the immediate group is affected by the nature and number of such connections.

In order to determine all indirect two-step linkages, the original matrix for each of the school boards was multiplied by itself using the regular process of matrix multiplication. The squared matrices thus obtained are shown in Figures 7a and 7b. Each figure in the matrix represents the number of two-step connections between the two members represented by the row and column in which the figure appears. For example, the number two appearing in

		<u>Given To</u>						
		PSB-1	PSB-2	PSB-3	PSB-4	PSB-5	PSB-6	PSB-7
<u>Given By</u>	PSB-1	1		2	1	2	2	
	PSB-2	1		1	1	1	1	
	PSB-3			2	2	1	1	
	PSB-4	1		2	1	1	2	
	PSB-5	1		1	1	1	1	
	PSB-6	1		2		1	3	
	PSB-7			3	1	2	2	

Fig. 7a

Figure 7a. Squared Matrix of Sociometric Patterns for the Roman Catholic Public School Board.

Given ToGiven By

	SSB-1	SSB-2	SSB-3	SSB-4	SSB-5	SSB-6	SSB-7
SSB-1	3			1	2		1
SSB-2				2	1	1	
SSB-3	1				1		1
SSB-4	2			1	1	2	
SSB-5				1	1	1	
SSB-6	2			1	2	1	
SSB-7	1			2	2	1	

Fig. 7b

Figure 7b. Squared Matrix of Sociometric Patterns for the Protestant Separate School Board.

row three and column four of the matrix in Figure 7a indicates that there are two indirect two-step connections between number PSB-3 and PSB-4. Looking at the original matrix, we indeed find that PSB-3 chose PSB-1 who in turn chose PSB-4, and PSB-3 chose PSB-6 who in turn chose PSB-4. The figures occurring along the diagonal of the matrix represent the number of mutual sociometric choices in which the person is involved. Thus, the one appearing in row four and column four, indicates that there was only one mutual sociometric choice involving PSB-4, and that there

was one two-step connection back to himself via another member which in this case is PSB-6.

An examination of the squared matrices reveals the following:

1. Since the choices represent members frequently consulted on board problems, information and opinion, with whatever influence accompanies the communication, initiated by any of the Roman Catholic Public School Board members is unlikely to reach in two steps either PSB-2 or the secretary-treasurer, PSB-7. Similarly, an item of information initiated by any member of the Protestant Separate School Board is likely to bypass SSB-2 and SSB-3.

2. Information and opinion originating with PSB-2 of the Roman Catholic Public School Board will be communicated in two steps to five other members of the board, while that originating with PSB-3 and the superintendent, PSB-6, will be heard by three other members of the board. On the Protestant Separate School Board, it is the secretary-treasurer, SSB-7, who reaches the largest number of board members (four) in two steps, while SSB-5 reaches the least number (two) in two steps.

3. Four members of the Roman Catholic Public School Board are bound to hear in two steps any item of information originating from any board member. These are PSB-3, PSB-4,

PSB-5 and the superintendent, PSB-6. In the Protestant Separate School Board only SSB-4 and SSB-5 are kept informed better than any of the others, receiving in two steps, information started by any of the members.

4. Thus in comparing the two, it would appear that the two-step communications network in the Roman Catholic Public School Board is more diffuse than that of the Protestant Separate School Board where incoming communications tend to converge mainly upon two individuals, SSB-4 and SSB-5.

5. The largest number of mutual sociometric choices involves the superintendent in the Roman Catholic Public School Board, and the chairman of the Protestant Separate School Board.

Three-step indirect connections. On multiplying the squared matrix by the original matrix, the cubed matrix is obtained. The figures appearing in the cubed matrix represent the number of three-step connections between the two persons involved. Thus figures 8a and 8b indicate all the three-step chains by which influence and information might spread throughout the two groups.

It is clear that in the Roman Catholic Public School Board all the members except PSB-2 and the secretary-

treasurer, PSB-7, can reach one another through at least one and as many as six three-step chains. The superintendent, PSB-6, clearly has the largest number of three-step linkages reaching him. Furthermore, it is also clear that the superintendent, PSB-6, and PSB-3 have the largest number of linkages connecting one another mutually. This group appears, therefore, to be a fairly well knit group served by a network of connections integrating closely five of its seven members.

		<u>Given To</u>						
		PSB-1	PSB-2	PSB-3	PSB-4	PSB-5	PSB-6	PSB-7
<u>Given By</u>	PSB-1	2		6	3	3	6	
	PSB-2	1		4	2	2	4	
	PSB-3	2		4	1	3	6	
	PSB-4	2		5	3	3	5	
	PSB-5	1		4	2	2	4	
	PSB-6	2		5	4	3	4	
	PSB-7	3		5	2	3	6	

Fig. 8a

Figure 8a. Cubed Matrix of Sociometric Patterns for the Roman Catholic Public School Board.

	<u>Given To</u>						
	SSB-1	SSB-2	SSB-3	SSB-4	SSB-5	SSB-6	SSB-7
<u>Given By</u>	SSB-1	4		3	4	4	
	SSB-2	4		1	3		2
	SSB-3	2		1	1	2	
	SSB-4	4		4	5	2	1
	SSB-5	3		1	2		1
	SSB-6	5		3	4	3	1
	SSB-7	5		2	4	1	1

Fig. 8b.

Figure 8b. Cubed Matrix of Sociometric patterns for the Protestant Separate School Board.

The matrix in figure 8b indicates that the majority of three-step linkages involve three of the seven members of the Protestant Separate School Board. The chairman, SSB-1, has the largest number of incoming three-step chains of communications, followed by SSB-5 and SSB-4. It is clear that, in this group, information and influence circulated within a more restricted area touching fewer people. They formed a subgroup which may not be described as a "clique."¹⁶

¹⁶Festinger, Schachter and Back, op.cit., define an extreme "clique as consisting of three or more individuals, all of whom choose each other mutually."

Figures 9a and 9b present cubed symmetric submatrices for the two boards. No figures appear in the squares forming the diagonals of the two submatrices indicating the absence of extreme cliques (based on mutual choices) within either of the boards.

		<u>Given To</u>						
		PSB-1	PSB-2	PSB-3	PSB-4	PSB-5	PSB-6	PSB-7
<u>Given By</u>	PSB-1	1		2	1	1		
	PSB-2							
	PSB-3	2					4	
	PSB-4	1					3	
	PSB-5	1					3	
	PSB-6			4	3	3		
	PSB-7							

Fig. 9a.

Figure 9a. Cubed Symmetric Sub-Matrix for the Roman Catholic Public School Board.

	<u>Given To</u>						
	SSB-1	SSB-2	SSB-3	SSB-4	SSB-5	SSB-6	SSB-7
<u>Given by</u>				3	3	3	
SSB-1							
SSB-2							
SSB-3							
SSB-4	3						
SSB-5	3						
SSB-6	3						
SSB-7							

Fig. 9b.

Figure 9b. Cubed Symmetric Sub-Matrix for the Protestant Separate School Board.

Summary

The data presented in this chapter revealed that the members of the two St. Albert school boards and their superintendents were conscious of the expectations held for their roles and were guided in their decision-making behavior by these perceived expectations. The degree of leadership displayed by various ones in the five areas of board activity confirmed the fact that their role behavior was influenced to some extent by what they perceived to be their roles. The superintendents of the two boards were

undisputedly the leaders in the professional areas of curriculum and personnel administration. Leadership and influence in the areas of sites and buildings, finance and community relations were shared with board members. The chairmen of the two boards were perceived to wield greater overall influence than the others and this accorded with their own concepts of their responsibilities as chairmen.

The superintendent was unquestionably the key figure in the Roman Catholic Public School Board. He had the largest number of direct and indirect communication links between him and the rest of the board.

In the Protestant Separate School Board, the chairman appeared to be the main focal point with the largest number of direct and indirect incoming chains of communication.

Extreme cliques (on the basis of mutual choices) were not found to exist in either of the school boards.

CHAPTER VI

DECISION-MAKING: THE PROCESS

The preceding three chapters presented information pertaining to external and internal variables which formed a part of the situational context within which the members of the two school boards in St. Albert interacted in the process of arriving at policy decisions. These variables, it was hypothesized, influence the behavior of the decision makers and affect the process by which decisions are made.

In this chapter, an analysis of observed interactions of board members over ten regular official meetings of each board is presented. Data were collected with the use of Bales' "Interaction Process Analysis" technique which was described in an earlier chapter.

First, in what follows, is an examination of the composite interaction category profiles of three types of problem-solving groups, differing markedly in such situational variables as membership composition, motivation, expectations, task set and conditions of performance.¹ Then, the

¹An "interaction profile" is defined as a distribution of the total number of acts between the twelve interaction categories, as conceived by Bales, according to quality of act, and expressed either in raw scores or in percentage rates of the total.

interaction profiles of similarly "situated," but not identical, groups are examined for points of similarity and difference.

Attention is next directed to a comparison of interaction profiles for the two St. Albert school boards, noting their individual patterns of decision-making activity.

Finally, patterns of individual participation and roles of board members and superintendents of the two school boards as revealed by interaction analysis are compared with the roles perceived by these individuals for themselves and for each other, as revealed in the findings contained in preceding chapters.

I. COMPOSITE INTERACTION PROFILES OF SIMILARLY AND DISSIMILARLY "SITUATED" DECISION-MAKING GROUPS

Five composite category profiles are presented in columns 1-5 of Table XVII. The first two profiles represent groups which differ markedly from each other and from the groups represented by the last three, with respect to such situational variables as group composition, motivation, expectations held for themselves and for each other, task set and conditions of performance.

Composite profile 1 is for Bales' experimental groups studied under laboratory controlled conditions. Composite

TABLE XVII

INTERACTION PROFILES OBTAINED IN FIVE STUDIES
USING BALES' INTERACTION PROCESS ANALYSIS

Category	Percentage of Acts				
	1 Exptl. Lab. Groups	2 Psycho- Therapy Groups	3 Wisconsin School Boards	4 Detroit School Boards	5 St. Albert School Boards
A { 1. Shows Solidarity 2. Shows Tension Rel. 3. Agrees Total	3.42	2.0	19.0	1.9	0.49
	5.97	4.8		1.5	0.98
	16.54			5.9	2.41
	25.93	6.8	19.0	9.3	3.88
B { 4. Gives Suggestion 5. Gives Opinion 6. Gives Information Total	7.94	3.5		4.9	5.32
	30.06	20.2	38.0	38.7	22.49
	17.89	59.2	31.0	32.9	51.34
	55.89	82.9	69.0	76.5	79.15
C { 7. Asks Information 8. Asks Opinion 9. Asks Suggestion Total	3.53	5.5		4.6	9.36
	2.39	2.3	12.0	4.6	5.20
	1.05	0.7		0.6	1.07
	6.97	8.5	12.0	9.8	15.63
D { 10. Disagrees 11. Shows Tension 12. Shows Antagonism Total	7.78	1.8		3.0	1.19
	2.68			0.8	0.14
	0.73			0.4	0.09
	11.20	1.8		4.2	1.42
GRAND TOTAL	99.99	100	100	99.8	100.08

profile 2 is for four psycho-therapy groups of six to eight members, studied by Talland over a total of eighteen group therapy sessions.² Composite profile 3 is for twenty-two Wisconsin school boards studied by Thomas. An analysis was made of interactions observed during a single official meeting of each board.³ Composite profile 4 represents seven school boards of the Detroit metropolitan area studied by Brubacher. Observations covered a series of four or five meetings of each board.⁴ The last column contains the composite profile for the two St. Albert school boards. Each board was observed in action during a series of ten regular meetings.

Profiles of Dissimilarly "Situating" Groups Compared

Basic similarities, characteristic of the interaction patterns of purposeful and goal directed groups at work,

²George A. Talland, "Task and Interaction Process: Some Characteristics of Therapeutic Group Discussion," Journal of Abnormal Psychology, L(1955), pp. 105-109.

³Michael P. Thomas, "Interaction Process Analysis of Administrator-School Board Relationships" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1960).

⁴John W. Brubacher, "An Analysis of the Decision-Making Process of School Boards" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Michigan, 1963).

are noted in the five profiles presented. Interactions in the "Attempted Answers" section (categories 4, 5 and 6) are more numerous than interactions in the "Questions" section (categories 7, 8 and 9) of the task activities area. Similarly, acts tending to reduce tension and maintain group solidarity (categories 1, 2 and 3) outnumber acts tending to produce tension and reduce group solidarity (categories 10, 11 and 12). "These tendencies" says Bales, "appear . . . to be 'built into' interaction . . . if indeed it is 'getting anywhere' and producing 'satisfaction', even in a minimal way."⁵

The three school board profiles, (columns 3-5), appear to differ similarly in several aspects from the composite profiles of the experimental and therapeutic discussion groups. Reasons for these differences have been advanced by Brubacher and will not be repeated here except for purposes of recapitulation and review.

The most striking difference in the profiles is seen in the relatively large share of acts performed by the school boards in the task areas B and C, and the relatively small proportion of expressive-integrative acts in the

⁵Robert F. Bales, "Some Statistical Problems in Small Group Research," Journal of the American Statistical Association, XLVI(1951), p. 312.

social-emotional areas A and D. The evidence would seem to indicate that school boards are highly task oriented, devoting an average of 81-96 per cent of total interactions to task activities and only 5-19 per cent of total interactions to meeting the social-emotional needs of the group. Laboratory groups, on the other hand, register 63 per cent of total interactions in task performance and 37 per cent of inter-personal relationships. By breaking these down into category interactions, as shown in Table XVIII, more interesting differences in the interaction patterns between school board groups and laboratory groups are revealed.

As compared with laboratory groups, school boards appear to ask more questions, give more information and opinion, make fewer suggestions, express agreement and disagreement less often, and react both positively and negatively less frequently.

These findings, it is hypothesized, are due in some measure to the nature of the task each group performs, the prevailing conditions under which the task is performed, and the informal and formal relationships existing between members of the group.

All groups ask questions to get factual and cognitive orientation and evaluation of the problem confronting them. The number of questions asked, however, depends upon how

TABLE XVIII

AVERAGE PERCENTAGE OF INTERACTIONS
OCCURRING IN SETS OF CATEGORIES
FOR THREE TYPES OF GROUPS

Category	Percentage of Acts		
	Lab. Groups	Psycho- therapy Groups	School Board Groups
Asks Questions (Cats. 7, 8 and 9)	6.97	8.5	9.80 - 15.63
Gives Orientation and Opinion (Cats. 5 and 6)	47.95	79.4	69.00 - 73.83
Gives Suggestions (Cat. 4)	7.94	3.5	4.90 - 5.32
Expresses Agreement and Disagreement (Cats. 3 and 10)	24.32	6.6	3.60 - 8.90
Positive and Negative Reactions (Cats. 1,2, 11 and 12)	12.81	2.0	1.70 - 4.60

much orientation and information they already have; whether they consider the data in hand adequate for the making of a sound decision, and whether additional data is readily available.

In comparison with laboratory groups, school board groups seem to devote a relatively higher percentage of

their interaction time to the asking of questions (categories 7, 8 and 9). Laboratory groups record 6.97 per cent of their interactions in these categories while school board groups record, on the average, 9.80 - 15.63 per cent of their interactions in similar activities. School board groups also have a larger proportion of interactions in the "giving information, orientation and opinion" categories (69.00 - 73.83) than laboratory groups (47.95 per cent). These results appear to be in keeping with the nature of the task performed by school boards and the "situation" within which they operate.

School board members are elected to positions of trust, charged with the responsibilities of public office which involve the making of decisions far-reaching in consequence. Their deep involvement in the problems that confront them as a board tends to make them want a thorough discussion in which any and all information relevant to the problem may be heard. Laboratory groups, on the other hand, engage in temporary problem-solving exercises requiring no deep personal involvement on the part of the participants, and resulting in no decisions for which the decision-makers may be held accountable.

School board members generally are not limited with respect to time. If they so desire, the discussion period prior to making a formal decision may be extended to provide each member the opportunity to ask questions, to contribute information and to express a point of view as freely and as frequently as he may see fit.

Board members probably are motivated to seek not a solution to the problem in hand, but the solution which, from the point of view of logic, feasibility and appropriateness, is most defensible. Laboratory groups, by contrast, are brought together under experimental conditions for the purpose of devising a logical solution to an assigned problem within a predetermined period of time. Each member enters the experiment with the notion that he has a piece of information surrounding the problem which is different from and complementary to the information possessed by his colleagues. He feels that he is expected to share in the formulation of a solution, not by asking questions, but by contributing information, expressing opinion and proposing possible alternatives for action. Even in this regard, there may be a tendency on the part of members of the group to inhibit the amount and frequency of their own individual

participation because of their awareness of the limited time allowed the group as a whole.

The larger proportion of questions raised by school board groups as compared with laboratory groups may also be explained by the fact that school boards deal with problems pertaining to areas of activity in which they claim little or no formal training, expertise or competence. They are, after all, political figures and must rely on professional advisors and consultants for information, opinion and advice requisite for a sound decision on many matters. The inclusion of such individuals in the group tends to draw more questions because board members feel they have a right to draw on the knowledge and resources of their professional employees and paid consultants for desired information and opinion, with the full expectation that such service will be freely and willingly given.

In responding to the questions asked of them, the boards' advisors and consultants generally react with recommendations formulated prior to and outside of board sessions. This course of action may have involved considerable analysis and evaluation of alternatives on the part of the experts, but does not show up as part of the board's

interactions. Furthermore, when the recommendations of experts are accepted as the best advice available, the need to make counter proposals or suggestions is either diminished or entirely eliminated. The members of the board prefer rather to engage in activity that enables them to thoroughly acquaint themselves with the recommendation they are about to accept, and to familiarize themselves with all the arguments advanced in support of its adoption. This procedure tends to increase the giving of orientation and opinion (categories 5 and 6), and to decrease the giving of suggestions (category 4).

On the other hand, members of experimental groups tend to raise a smaller proportion of questions. These groups have no relationship similar to that between board members and superintendent. With no individual or individuals in their midst clearly identified as resource persons, the problem of arriving at a common cognitive orientation is solved by exchanging relevant information and opinion, i.e. by interacting in categories 5 and 6. In the meanwhile, in the urge to succeed in finding a suitable solution within the time available for discussion and to avoid irrelevant debate, the group engages in proposing and evaluating alternate solutions or in suggesting modifications to a likely solution already proposed. The tendency, therefore,

is for laboratory groups to have a relatively higher frequency of interaction in the "gives suggestions" category, and a relatively lower frequency of interaction in the "asks questions" categories than school board groups.

While the aim of the problem-solving debate in problem-solving groups such as laboratory groups, school board groups and committees, is to terminate the disturbance initially introduced by the problem, the purpose of discussion in psycho-therapy groups is to maintain disturbance at a particular level throughout the interaction. The effectiveness of group therapy is realized only as long as the patients actively participate by talking and listening to others talk about disturbing or personal problems. So, if personal interaction tends to fall below a required level of emotional involvement and consequent disturbance, new disturbances are introduced by the therapist to provide the group with tasks and to instigate further disturbances through spontaneous personal interaction. Thus psycho-therapy groups by virtue of what they are expected to do and are manipulated into doing, tend to have a relatively high proportion of acts giving orientation (category 6), and a relatively low percentage of acts giving suggestions (category 4).

Factors influencing the pattern of interaction in the task areas B and C tend also to influence the pattern

of interaction in the social-emotional areas A and D. Cognitive orientation, evaluation and control are achieved by means determined by the nature of the task, and the internal member-to-member relationship within the group. It is assumed that internal differentiation between persons exists initially or tends to develop during the process of interaction. Theorizing in this regard Bales states:

As interaction proceeds, these differentiations tend to become 'stabilized' in terms of 'generalizations' based on past activity of the person and 'expectations' based on the projection of these generalizations to future activity or on explicit discussion and agreement as to the expected roles of each.⁶

The relationship of person to person, in any problem-solving group, growing out of their roles or functions in problem solving, tends to attain a degree of stability through frequent interaction. School board groups may be expected to achieve a relatively greater degree of stability than laboratory groups because: (1) they operate as a group over a longer period of time during which role expectations of self and of each other are shaped to fit into a pattern of interaction leading to satisfaction; and (2) the institutionalized roles of the superintendent and secretary-

⁶ Robert F. Bales, Interaction Process Analysis, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Press Inc., 1951), p. 72.

treasurer establishes an a priori social relationship defined in terms of normative obligations and responsibilities.

Relative differences in interaction patterns of school board groups and laboratory groups are observed in the social-emotional areas (categories 1-3, 10-12). Laboratory groups appear to interact far more in these areas, registering a percentage of total interaction four times that of school board groups. One reason advanced for this difference, is the relatively greater interpersonal relationships found in school boards. Recommendations and proposed solutions to a problem made by the professional advisors of school boards are generally accepted and adopted after a period of questions and answers by which board members receive a thorough orientation to the problem, and an understanding of the rationale underlying the proposed solution. When the board members are satisfied with their understanding of the problem and the implications of the proposed action, they manifest overt agreement or disagreement corporately when the vote is taken. This formal procedure, as well as the not infrequently used form of implying agreement or disagreement in exchanging opinion, tends to reduce overt interaction expressing agreement and disagreement (categories 3 and 10).

The proportion of acts producing or reducing group solidarity and tension (categories 1, 2, 11 and 12) is also observed to be far less in school board groups than in laboratory groups. It may be reasoned, that since over 60 per cent of the decisions involving nearly 30 per cent of total interactions performed by school boards relate to "programmed" decisions (see Table XXIII), the "wear and tear" involved in the solution of sub-problems is, to that extent, virtually eliminated.⁷ Consequently, the demand for periodic activity oriented directly to the distribution of rewards accruing from productive task performance to individual members in order to reinforce or re-establish their feelings of group solidarity, is reduced. Another factor that may be expected to contribute to the reduction of interaction showing solidarity and reducing tension (categories 1 and 2), is the fact that board members indulge in tension reducing and group integrating activities while they are assembling for the meeting i.e. prior to the meeting being called to order, during the time lapse between the disposal of one item and the introduction of the next, and immediately following adjournment. These expressive-

⁷"Programmed" decisions are defined in a following section, as those decisions related to problems that recur often enough to permit the development of routine and structured procedures for handling them.

integrative acts are not recorded and do not show up in the interaction profile. The indication here is that although school boards are highly task oriented, there is some minimum pressure to maintain the group's solidarity in order that decisions reached jointly may have a binding effect on the members and that negative reactions will be negatively valued.

On the whole, the findings appear to indicate that school boards as a group, have an interaction profile that is characteristically different from the profiles of other groups. These differences, it is reasoned, are due to the nature of the tasks involved, the situational factors impinging upon the tasks, the organizational structure of the groups, and the motivation of the individual members of the groups.

Profiles of Similarly "Situated" Groups Compared

While school board interaction profiles compositely exhibit features that distinguish them from the interaction profiles of other groups, they also exhibit differences in interaction patterns between themselves. With reference to Table XXIV, attention is drawn to the considerable difference in proportion of acts giving opinion and orientation (categories 5 and 6) in the profiles of the St. Albert school boards and those of their counterparts in the Wisconsin and

Michigan studies. The latter have practically identical proportions of interactions in the two categories, while the two Alberta boards have a much lower percentage of "opinion giving" acts (category 5) and a much higher percentage of "orientation giving" acts (category 6). Two broad reasons are advanced as contributing in some measure to this disparity: (1) the situational factors affecting the task and (2) the internal organization of the boards.

1. Situational Factors. Chapter III described, in some detail, the problems of adaptation, adjustment and reorganization that followed in the wake of sudden and rapid changes that overtook the community of St. Albert during the years preceding this study. These changes had direct implications for the two school systems operating in the community. In fact, radical demographic changes occurring six years earlier were directly responsible for the setting up of a second school system in the community. The two school boards found themselves confronted with a number of new and eventful situations that challenged the ingenuity and resourcefulness of the members. Existing school facilities were taxed to capacity. Prediction studies and surveys indicated an urgent need for expansion of facilities to meet immediate needs. Immediate needs however, from the point of view of economy and efficiency,

were generally related to and articulated with long-term needs. And long-term needs, in this case, were difficult to predict with any degree of certainty because the assumptions upon which predictions could be made, were themselves highly variable.⁸

Under these circumstances, it was difficult to make decisions involving large sums of public finance for capital expenditures without some misgivings, unless supported by information, counsel and opinion from higher levels of government, and advisory bodies, and knowledgeable individuals. The Town Council, the Local Authorities Board, the Department of Education, Regional and Provincial Planning Authorities, and experts were consulted. Direction and opinion received from these authorities and transmitted through members of the boards or their executive officers, constituted the orientation providing relevant information regarding the problems under discussion.

Frequently, this orientation contained the intermediary solutions to a series of subproblems, which were

⁸A Prediction Study of School Enrollment and Future Classroom Needs in the St. Albert School District No. 3, St. Albert, Alberta. A report by the Department of Educational Administration, University of Alberta (Edmonton: Department of Educational Administration, University of Alberta, 1963), pp. 10-11.

crucial to the solution of the main problem. If for any reason, the series of subproblems were delayed in solution at any point, then there was a corresponding delay in formulating a final decision on the main problems. The two school boards experienced such unanticipated delays during the year due to errors in protocol in some cases, legal complications in others, and internal conflict in still others. Notwithstanding the delays incurred, the boards had to make decisions within whatever time was available to them in order to meet deadline dates. When pressured because of time to make decisions, board members were prone to take the most direct approach to a solution by formulating tentative proposals on the basis of the orientation and information available, without taking time to justify them with opinions.

2. Internal Organization. Prior to the appointment of superintendents in the two school systems, the boards made use of standing committees as an organizational device to ensure that all phases of school operation and management would be adequately and effectively handled. Board members appointed to these committees were said to have been generally selected on the basis of their expertise, experience or interest in the area of responsibility entrusted to the committee.

Those who were themselves building contractors or engineers, or who had any qualifications approaching a working knowledge of building materials and building construction, were invited to serve on building committees. Those who were knowledgeable in the field of business and finance, either by training, avocation or experience, were asked to assist on finance committees. Others, with a professional academic background or with experience in, or knowledge of, current educational systems and practices were appointed to curriculum and educational committees. This practice continued to be in vogue in the two school systems at the time of the study. Standing committees were formed at the initial organizational meetings of the boards and were retained throughout the year. Board members reelected or continuing in office were usually asked to continue serving on the committee to which they belonged the year before. As a consequence, these individuals acquired specific skills in handling certain phases of board responsibility and were accordingly recognized by their colleagues.⁹

Referrals to committees were generally given careful study with much weighing of alternatives for solution. The

⁹See Table XVI on p. 192(a).

exchange of information, opinion and suggestions made within these committees obviously were not recorded, and hence did not show up in the recorded interactions of the boards. Instead, the results of the committees' activities were presented at board meetings in the form of neatly done up reports consisting of pertinent background information, the considered opinion of the committee, and a suggested solution. Committee reports particularly respecting problems of a routine or recurrent type, and not of major import to the functioning of the board, drew little interaction beyond the asking for and giving orientation (categories 6 and 7) regarding the problem and the rationale for the recommendation. The result was a general increase in the proportion of orientation directed acts (categories 6 and 7) and a decrease in the proportion of evaluative acts (category 5). In presenting the committee system of operation as a possible factor contributing to the higher frequency of interaction in categories 6 and 7 occurring in the composite profile of the two Alberta school boards, as compared with those of the Wisconsin and Detroit school boards, the assumption is made that the latter school systems like a great many large school districts in the

United States, use no committees at all, and that the full board acts as a whole on all problems.¹⁰

The two Alberta school boards have a lower frequency of interaction in categories 1, 2 and 3 than the Michigan school boards have in the same categories. But then, they also have a lower frequency of interaction in the negative reaction categories 10, 11 and 12. In fact, the ratio of the frequency of interaction in the positive reaction categories 1, 2 and 3 to the frequency of interaction in the negative reaction categories 10, 11 and 12, is almost the same for the two sets of board groups. A possible reason accounting for the difference in the proportion of activities in the social-emotional areas mentioned above, is advanced on the assumption that most of the items, if not all, discussed in the Michigan school boards resulted in a decision. Not all items discussed by the Alberta school boards terminated in a decision. In fact, Table XIX shows that, on the average, only 50 per cent of total board meeting time was spent in discussion that netted a decision. The remaining 50 per cent of the time was occupied with reports given by the superintendent or secretary-treasurer

¹⁰Edward M. Tuttle, School Board Leadership in America, (Chicago: The Interstate Printers and Publishers, 1963), pp. 34-35.

TABLE XIX

TIME DISTRIBUTION ON DECISION ITEMS

Meeting	Roman Catholic Public School Board No. 3			Protestant Separate School Board No. 6		
	Total Time (in mins.)	Time for Dec. (in mins.)	No. of Decisions	Total Time (in mins.)	Time for Dec. (in mins.)	No. of Decisions.
1	245	109	4	326	155	12
2.	110	78	2	248	156	12
3	165	62	4	262	105	3
4	201	124	9	341	142	8
5	230	144	9	313	156	5
6	225	88	6	255	35	2
7	128	44	5	206	93	3
8	213	96	7	247	113	11
9	158	146	11	185	119	11
10	77	26	6	245	116	10
Totals	1752	917	63	2628	1190	77
Per cent of Total Time	52.34			45.28		
Average Time/Decision	14.56			15.45		

regarding the operation of the school district; or by a committee announcement regarding the progress of a project that had been undertaken; or by other newsworthy items presented for the purpose of "keeping the board informed." Also included in this time of inter-decision activities, is the regular 15-25 minute mid-session coffee break which accounted for a little less than 10 per cent of total board meeting time. These coffee-breaks provided board members with an opportunity to engage in a certain amount of light-hearted banter and jocular comment - expressive integrative acts - that tended to reduce tension and promote group solidarity. Since these particular social-emotional acts did not occur within the period in which items terminating in a decision were discussed and resolved, they were not included in the interaction analysis, and hence did not show up in the interaction profile.

II. INDIVIDUAL INTERACTION PATTERNS OF THE ST. ALBERT SCHOOL BOARDS

General Interaction Patterns

The interaction profiles of the two Alberta school boards shown in Table XX bear a striking resemblance to each other. Both profiles reveal a heavy concentration of acts in the task areas B and C, accounting for nearly

TABLE XX

INTERACTION PROFILES OF TWO ALBERTA SCHOOL BOARDS
USING BALES' INTERACTION PROCESS ANALYSIS

Category	Percentage of Acts		
	R.C. Public School Bd. No.3	Prot. Separate School Bd. No.6	
A {	1. Shows Solidarity	0.52	0.45
	2. Shows Tension Release	0.81	1.05
	3. Agrees	2.70	2.12
	TOTAL	4.03	3.62
B {	4. Gives Suggestion	5.98	4.65
	5. Gives Opinion	22.62	22.36
	6. Gives Orientation	49.53	53.14
	TOTAL	78.13	80.15
C {	7. Asks for Orientation	9.46	9.25
	8. Asks for Opinion	6.13	4.27
	9. Asks for Suggestion	1.30	0.84
	TOTAL	16.89	14.36
D {	10. Disagrees	0.81	1.56
	11. Shows Tension	0.11	0.16
	12. Shows Antagonism	0.02	0.15
	TOTAL	0.94	1.87
GRAND TOTAL		99.99	100.00

Key: A - Social-Emotional Area: Positive Reactions
 B - Task Area: Attempted Answers
 C - Task Area: Questions
 D - Social-Emotional Area: Negative Reactions

a - Problems of Orientation
 b - Problems of Evaluation
 c - Problems of Control
 d - Problems of Decision
 e - Problems of Tension Management
 f - Problems of Integration

95 per cent of the total number of interactions. Reasons have been suggested in the preceding section for this apparent overall imbalance and will not be repeated here. Realizing the importance and urgency of the problems that confronted them, the boards appeared to have been more concerned with getting the job done than with satisfying their own social-emotional needs. However, it must not be inferred that the boards achieved their objectives at the expense of the social and emotional relations of the members of the group. It would perhaps be more correct to suggest that board members maintained a minimum level of expressive-integrative activities during the period of actual decision-making, that was intuitively felt to be essential to the social-emotional health of each group.

If differences in interaction profiles of problem-solving groups can be attributed to differences in the nature of the tasks encountered by the groups, the conditions of performance and such situational variables as membership composition, motivation and role expectations, then groups which are similar in some of these respects may be expected to exhibit some similarity in patterns of interaction. This appears to be borne out in the interaction profile of the two St. Albert school boards (Table XX). Data contained in preceding chapters have indicated basic

differences between the two groups with respect to such variables as membership composition, formal and informal relationships and role expectations. Whether these differences were responsible for the minor differences observed in the individual group profiles will be revealed in the discussion on individual member profiles in a later section.

The findings appear to indicate that the two St. Albert school boards, like other school board groups studied elsewhere, do have a basic pattern of interaction by which they arrive at decisions. Minor variations in interaction patterns seem to reflect minor variations in such situational variables as group composition, motivation, structure and expectations.

Interaction Patterns for Programmed and Non-Programmed Decisions

Programmed and Non-Programmed Decisions. In discussing the process of decision-making, a distinction is made between two broadly differentiated, polar types of decisions. Simon labels these, "programmed" and "non-programmed" decisions, and explains further that these are "not really distinct types, but a whole continuum, with

highly programmed decisions at one end, and highly un-programmed decisions at the other end."¹¹

Decisions are considered programmed to the extent that they are repetitive and routine. They are decisions for which the group has developed certain specific or standard procedures, leading to, what previous experience in similar situations has shown to be satisfactory solutions to those problems.

On the other hand, non-programmed decisions are associated with novel and complex problems, for the solution of which the group has no established previously-tried techniques.

These definitions provided the basis upon which decisions made by the two school boards were classified as either "programmed" or "non-programmed." If a decision was reached routinely and the problem was disposed of "according to policy" or on the basis of an established precedent, it was classified as "programmed." If however, a decisional choice was made following the application of a board's general problem-solving capacity for "intelligent, adaptive, problem-oriented action," to a new situation, it was classed as "non-programmed."

¹¹Herbert A. Simon, The New Science of Management Decision, (New York: Harper and Row, 1960), p. 5.

Data regarding the number of programmed and non-programmed decisions, and the number of interactions involved in each type for the ten meetings of each of the two school boards are presented in Table XXI. Spread over ten meetings, each school board made almost twice as many programmed decisions as non-programmed decisions in less than one-third of the time. The boards spent on the average, 25 per cent of the total interaction time on programmed decisions and 75 per cent on non-programmed decisions. Also, programmed decisions averaged 30-34 interactions per decision, while non-programmed decisions averaged 156-192 interactions per decision.

These results are in accord with the definitions of the types of decisions upon which the dichotomous classification is based, and reveal that the two boards agreed in handling the two types differentially with respect to interaction time spent on each.

Interaction Profiles for Programmed and Non-programmed Decisions. In order to determine whether the two school boards have one pattern of interaction for programmed decisions and ~~another~~ for non-programmed decisions, interaction data were tabulated as shown in Tables XXII and XXIII. Table XXII presents the composite profiles for the two types

NUMBER OF INTERACTIONS AND TIME TAKEN FOR PROGRAMMED
AND NON-PROGRAMMED DECISIONS MADE BY THE TWO
SCHOOL BOARDS OVER TEN REGULAR MEETINGS

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of decisions made by each of the school boards.

An examination of Table XXIV reveals that both school boards were consistent in exhibiting certain differences in interaction patterns for programmed and non-programmed decisions. Compared with non-programmed decisions, programmed decisions have a higher proportion of acts in the areas of positive reactions (categories 1, 2 and 3) and questions (categories 4, 5 and 6) and a lower percentage of interactions in the remaining two areas of negative reactions (categories 10, 11 and 12) and attempted answers (categories 7, 8 and 9). The reason for these differences in interaction patterns may be traced back to the nature of the problems associated with each of the two types of decisions and the nature of the techniques employed in arriving at an accepted solution.

Non-programmed decisions generally require a larger proportion of acts of orientation, evaluation and control than programmed decisions because of the complex, elusive and "hitherto unencountered" nature of the problems involved. For their solution, no standard procedures based on previous experience are available to the boards. Instead, each problem presents a new situation requiring a fresh approach to its solution. A solution is not

TABLE XXII

INTERACTION PROFILE FOR PROGRAMMED AND NON-PROGRAMMED
DECISIONS MADE BY THE TWO SCHOOL BOARDS
OVER TEN REGULAR MEETINGS

Categories	Percentage of Acts			
	R.C. Public School Bd.		Prot. Separate School Bd.	
	Programmed Decisions	Non-Programmed Decisions	Programmed Decisions	Non-Programmed Decisions
1. Shows Solidarity	0.58	0.55	0.54	0.45
2. Shows Tension Rel.	0.72	1.08	1.62	0.93
3. Agrees	3.89	2.54	1.69	2.37
Totals	5.19	4.17	3.85	3.75
4. Gives Suggestion	7.06	5.22	7.29	4.25
5. Gives Opinion	19.88	23.71	15.06	24.69
6. Gives Orientation	48.49	48.35	55.77	52.39
Totals	75.43	77.28	78.12	81.33
7. Asks for Orienta.	10.23	9.94	10.40	8.56
8. Asks for Opinion	6.70	6.39	5.81	3.51
9. Asks for Suggest.	2.31	0.90	1.55	0.56
Totals	19.24	17.23	17.76	12.63
10. Disagrees		1.20	0.27	1.88
11. Shows Tension		0.12		0.15
12. Shows Antagonism	0.14			0.26
Totals	0.14	1.32	0.27	2.29
GRAND TOTAL	100.	100.	100.	100.

immediately apparent, and has to be sought through debate and argument and a careful appraisal of the many proposals for a course of action. This process of critical evaluation of information and suggestions given involves acts which produce antagonism, tension and disagreement. Even when a decision is made, the uncertainty surrounding the suitability and effectiveness of the course of action adopted and the fear of unanticipated consequences would tend to limit the number of positive reactions to the amount of satisfaction felt with the decision. The fact that the proportion of positive reactions exceeds the proportion of negative reactions indicates that the boards are reasonably well satisfied with the non-programmed decisions made and that they maintain at least a minimum level of group solidarity to ensure efficiency of operation.

Programmed decisions have a lower proportion of negative interactions and a higher proportion of positive interactions because they are relatively simple and routinely handled. When the facts pertinent to the problem in hand are presented, they are recognized as being more or less similar to those associated with a problem encountered before. The situation is easily grasped and resolved by

TABLE XXIII

AVERAGE NUMBER OF INTERACTIONS PER DECISION
OCCURRING IN EACH CATEGORY FOR PROGRAMMED
AND NON-PROGRAMMED DECISIONS

Categories	Average Number of Interactions per Decision			
	R.C. Public School Bd.		Prot. Separate School Bd.	
	Programmed Decisions n = 41	Non-Programmed Decisions n = 22	Programmed Decisions n = 49	Non-Programmed Decisions n = 28
1. Shows Solidarity	0.20	0.86	0.16	0.86
2. Shows Tension Rel.	0.24	1.68	0.49	1.79
3. Agrees	1.32	3.95	0.51	4.54
4. Gives Suggestion	2.39	8.14	2.20	8.14
5. Gives Opinion	6.73	36.95	4.55	47.36
6. Gives Orientation	16.41	75.33	16.86	100.46
7. Asks for Orientation	3.46	15.50	3.14	16.43
8. Asks for Opinion	2.27	9.95	1.76	6.71
9. Asks for Suggestion	0.78	1.41	0.47	1.07
10. Disagrees	0.00	1.86	0.08	3.61
11. Shows Tension	0.00	0.19	0.00	0.29
12. Shows Antagonism	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.50

means of a technique that has proved successful on a previous occasion. Neither the procedural technique used in arriving at a solution nor the solution itself could produce acts of antagonism, tension or disagreement of any consequence, because both had successfully stood the test of time. On the contrary, the facility with which the problem is handled, coupled with a degree of confidence in the correctness of the decision reached leave the board members highly satisfied and therefore produce a relatively large proportion of positive reactions.

That programmed decisions had a higher percentage of interactions than non-programmed decisions in the area of questions (categories 7, 8 and 9) might appear to be contrary to expectation. If programmed decisions are routine and have a prescribed procedure governing the sequence of responses of the group to the problem in hand, one might expect a smaller proportion of acts involving the asking for orientation, opinion and proposals for solution than would be in the case of non-programmed decisions. The explanation for this apparent contradiction lies in the fact that the two boards made more programmed decisions than non-programmed decisions (41.22 in one board and 49.22 in the other) and non-programmed decisions required on the average between 5 and 6 times as many acts for solution as

did programmed decisions. Table XXIII shows that programmed decisions required far fewer number of interactions per decision in categories 7, 8 and 9 (as is true of all other categories) than non-programmed decisions. Keeping in mind then, the excess of programmed decisions over non-programmed decisions and the relative fewness of interactions per programmed decisions as compared with the number of interactions per non-programmed decisions, the relatively higher percentages of interactions in categories 7, 8 and 9 for programmed decisions shown in Table XXII are understandable. The same explanation is advanced for the apparently contrary-to-expectation differences in the interaction percentages appearing in category 4.

One feature in the profiles of programmed and non-programmed decisions (Table XXII) that draws attention, is the marked difference in the percentages of interaction occurring in category 5. One board shows a difference of 4 per cent while the other shows a difference of nearly 10 per cent. This would indicate the strong emphasis placed by the boards on the evaluation of relevant information and proposals for solution in the case of non-programmed decisions. Both types of decisions appear to require the same proportion of orientation acts. But once the facts are presented together with proposals for action, the school boards in reaching a non-programmed decision go

through a far more extended and rigorous process of decision-making involving the sorting out of information presented, weighing suggested ways of action against likely consequences and values involved and then choosing what appears to them to be the most effective alternative.

It may be concluded therefore that the two school boards have a basic pattern by which they arrive at decisions. They have one distinct pattern for making programmed decisions, and another distinct and separate pattern for arriving at non-programmed decisions. Because of their complex nature, and the absence of a standard procedure for solution, non-programmed decisions require a larger proportion of evaluative acts to select relevant information from the mass of orientation given, and to weigh the relative merits of the large number of alternatives proposed for action. The process of arriving at a decision is accompanied by a larger percentage of negative social-emotional acts. As consensus is approached, the proportion of acts reducing tension and promoting group solidarity increases to maintain the social-emotional balance necessary to keep the group functioning effectively.

Programmed decisions required an equivalent proportion of acts providing orientation and information. The situations described by their data were recognized as being similar to

other situations with which the boards were familiar and for the handling of which they had devised specific procedures. There was no necessity, therefore, for as extensive and rigorous evaluation of the facts presented nor for as many suggestions for action as in the case of non-programmed decisions. There was little cause for tension-producing acts and less for tension reduction.

Phase Movement in Decision-Making

In practically any discussion on the process of decision-making, credence is given to the idea that decisions are made by going through a certain number of steps or through a certain number of stages in the problem-solving process.

Bales views problem-solving in a small group dealing with a single major topical problem, as taking place in a series of overlapping differentiated phases, somewhat in the following highly schematized order:¹²

Phase 1 Largely devoted to obtaining initial cognitive orientation to the problem facing the group.

¹²By "phases," Bales means: . . . qualitatively different sub-periods within a total continuous period of interaction in which a group proceeds from initiation to completion of a problem involving group decision."

Phase 2 Analyzing and diagnosing the situation in light of the values, needs and desires of the members of the group, and the formulation of a general common goal.

Phase 3 Finding ways and means of controlling the factors in the situation, including the activities of the members in order to bring about the desired state of affairs which is the goal.

Phase 4. Actual decision, or crystallization of intent, with further last-minute articulation of earlier steps.

Phase 5 Releasing and dissipating the various tensions created in the process up to this point.

Phase 6 Reintegration.¹³

Using terms that have as their operational referents the acts described in the twelve interaction categories described earlier in this chapter, the phase hypothesis, stated succinctly, holds that under certain conditions problem-solving groups in their interaction tend to move from a relative emphasis upon problems of orientation, to problems of evaluation, and then to problems of control, and that concurrent with these transitions, the relative frequencies of both negative and positive reactions tend to increase.¹⁴ In this connection it must be pointed out that the phrase "a shift in relative emphasis" is not to be

¹³Bales, op.cit., p. 11.

¹⁴Bales and Stodtbeck, op.cit., p. 485.

construed to mean that the absolute magnitude of the particular activity referred to (e.g. problems of orientation, etc.) exceeds all others in that phase. What is meant rather, is that the rate of the particular activity referred to, reaches its zenith in the designated phase.

The general conditions under which the hypothesis is expected to hold empirically were met in the case of the two school boards under study. Specifically, the participants were all "normal" adults meeting as a small group (seven members) in face-to-face interaction to solve problems arising out of a common task for which they shared responsibility. The composition of the groups was such that status differences between board members (if indeed there were differences in status) were not so great as to in any way inhibit or deny any board member his right to participate in the discussions or to influence the decisional choice.

To test the hypothesis, only non-programmed decisions were considered. This was done in order to conform to the requirement that the task should be one in which it may be assumed that the functions of orientation, evaluation and control are each to a major degree unsolved at the beginning of the observation, but are solved to some degree during the period of the observation.

The total period of interaction of each non-programmed decision was divided into three subperiods, producing the first, middle and final phases of problem-solving. In this way, each phase contains one-third of the acts of the total set. The corresponding phases of the twenty-two non-programmed decisions of the Roman Catholic Public School Board and the twenty-eight non-programmed decisions of the Protestant Separate School Board were summated according to categories into orientation (categories 6 and 7), evaluation (categories 5 and 8), control (categories 4 and 9), positive reactions (categories 1, 2 and 3) and negative reactions (categories 10, 11 and 12). Table XXIV presents the results obtained.

It will be seen from Table XXVI that when, for each board, all the acts are summed together by type of act and phase, the values for each type of act except "evaluation" have maxima and minima which correspond exactly with Bales' predicted phase values. In both cases the maxima for this type of act occurs in the final phase instead of the intermediate phase, and the order of the values in these two phases is precisely the reverse of the expected order. This reversal may be accounted for by the fact that the school boards, unlike Bales' laboratory groups, employ professional advisors and consultants who present oral or written reports on problems referred to

TABLE XXIV.

ACTS BY TYPE AND PHASE FOR NON-PROGRAMMED DECISIONS
TOTAL 22 and 28 CASES RESPECTIVELY FOR
THE ROMAN CATHOLIC PUBLIC AND PROTESTANT
SEPARATE SCHOOL BOARDS

Type of Act	R.C. Public School Board				Prot. Separate School Board.			
	Phases			Total	Phases			Total
	First	Middle	Final		First	Middle	Final	
Orientation	690	614	529	1833	1199	1092	1004	3295
Evaluation	282	320	350	952	485	516	525	1526
Control	47	68	90	205	43	77	128	248
Negative Reaction	8	15	17	40	30	50	49	129
Positive Reaction	29	31	67	127	42	63	88	193
TOTALS	1056	1048	1053	3157	1799	1798	1794	5391

them, giving orientation and background information followed by an analysis of the situation and recommended courses of action for their solution. Generally, these recommendations are accepted, but not without further questioning to get all the available information and opinion about the problem and the suggested courses of action. The practice of using standing committees, likewise, tends to produce a similar situation in which the number of evaluative acts reach their peak in the final phase of the decision-process.

To test the conformity between the observed phase rankings and the expected phase rankings theoretically predicted by Bales, the "Ranking of Phases" method followed by Bales and Stodtbeck was adopted.¹⁵ Using this method a statistical evaluation of the difference between observed and predicted orderings may be made on the basis of the number of transpositions of adjacent values in the observed order required to establish the predicted order.

The observed phase rankings in Table XXVI representing the summated data shown in Table XXIV for each of the two school boards were compared with predicted rankings

¹⁵Bales and Stodtbeck, op.cit., pp. 491-492.

shown in Table XXV, and the least number of transpositions required to match the predicted order were calculated.

TABLE XXV

EXPECTED PHASE IN WHICH FREQUENCY OF ACTS BY TYPE
WILL BE HIGH, INTERMEDIATE AND LOW, UNDER
CONDITIONS OF THE FULL-FLEDGED PROBLEM*

Type of Act	High	Intermediate	Low
Orientation	First	Middle	Final
Evaluation	Middle	Final	First
Control	Final	Middle	First
Negative Reaction	Final	Middle	First
Positive Reaction	Final	Middle	First

*Source: Robert F. Bales and Fred L. Stodtbeck, "Phases in Group Problem Solving," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XLVI(1951), p. 492.

The results show that in the case of each school board only one transposition is required to match the expected orders. The null hypothesis may therefore be rejected at the .001 level.¹⁶ This means that the two Alberta school boards which were judged to meet the general conditions of Bales' phase hypothesis deviate significantly from random expectations.

¹⁶See Appendix B.

TABLE XXVI

PHASE RANKING BY FREQUENCY OF ACTS FOR EACH TYPE OBSERVED FOR
EACH BOARD AND TRANSITIONS REQUIRED TO MATCH EXPECTED RANKING

Type of Acts	Data	Phase Ranks			Number of Transpositions Required
		High	Intermediate	Low	
Orientation	Expected Rank	First	Middle	Final	
	Observed Rank: R.C. Board Prot. Board	First First	Middle Middle	Final Final	0 0
Evaluation	Expected Rank	Middle	Final	First	
	Observed Rank: R.C. Board Prot. Board	Final Final	Middle Middle	First First	1 1
Control	Expected Rank	Final	Middle	First	
	Observed Rank: R.C. Board Prot. Board	Final Final	Middle Middle	First First	0 0
Negative Reactions	Expected Rank	Final	Middle	First	
	Observed Rank: R.C. Board Prot. Board	Final Final	Middle Middle	First First	0 0
Positive Reactions	Expected Rank	Final	Middle	First	
	Observed Rank: R.C. Board Prot. Board	Final Final	Middle Middle	First First	0 0

Although the distribution of summated frequencies of the programmed decisions of each of the two school boards exemplifies the phase pattern predicted by Bales, the frequencies of all the decisions taken individually or by meeting, do not. Tables XXVII and XXVIII present the number of transpositions required to bring the observed order of frequencies, arranged by decision as well as by meeting, in line with the expected ranking of phases. Applying the "3 transpositions or fewer" criterion for testing random distribution at the .05 level of confidence, it is clear that only 3 of 9 meetings and 11 of 22 decisions of the Roman Catholic Public School Board, and only 5 of 10 meetings and 13 of 28 decisions of the Protestant Separate School Board conform to the phase movement predicted by Bales.

The results of the independent tests were then combined to test further the significance of the aggregate following Bales and Stodtbeck's use of Fisher's model.¹⁷ This is done in Tables XXIX and XXX. The appropriate number of degrees of freedom in each case is $2n$, and the chi-square value with $2n$ df, for significance at the .001 level, is also shown in the tables.

¹⁷Bales and Stodtbeck, Ibid.

TABLE XXVII

NUMBER OF TRANSPOSITIONS REQUIRED TO ESTABLISH THE ORDER
PREDICTED BY THE PHASE HYPOTHESIS FOR ROMAN CATHOLIC
PUBLIC SCHOOL BOARD OBSERVATIONS BY MEETINGS
AND BY NON-PROGRAMMED DECISIONS

Meetings n = 9	Number of Transpositions	Decisions n = 22	Number of Transpositions
1	8	1	6
		2	8
2	5	3	5
3	2	4	3
4	4	6	1
		7	3
5	4	8	4
		9	5
		10	6
		11	0
6	5	12	3
		13	7
		14	6
7	2	15	0
		16	4
		17	0
8	0	18	2
		19	2
		20	3
9	5	21	5
		22	3

Since the χ^2 obtained in each case is greater than the chi-square value with the appropriate degrees of freedom at the .001 level of confidence, the null hypothesis of random distribution of frequencies is rejected.

This evidence indicates that phase movement of the kind hypothesized by Bales for small problem-solving groups

TABLE XXVIII

NUMBER OF TRANSPOSITIONS REQUIRED TO ESTABLISH THE ORDER
 PREDICTED BY THE PHASE HYPOTHESIS FOR PROTESTANT
 SEPARATE SCHOOL BOARD OBSERVATIONS BY MEETINGS
 AND BY NON-PROGRAMMED DECISIONS

Meetings n = 10	Number of Transpositions	Decisions n = 28	Number of Transpositions
1	0	1	2
		2	1
		3	2
		4	3
2	0	5	5
		6	1
		7	0
		8	4
3	3	9	2
		10	3
4	6	11	5
		12	5
5	3	13	0
		14	6
6	6	15	6
7	4	16	4
		17	3
8	4	18	9
		19	4
		20	4
		21	2
		22	5
9	4	23	3
		24	6
		25	4
		26	4
		27	2
10	3	28	4

TABLE XXIX

COMBINATION OF INDEPENDENT TESTS OF PHASE HYPOTHESIS
ROMAN CATHOLIC PUBLIC SCHOOL BOARD

Trans- positions	$2 \log_e \frac{1}{p}$	Meetings n = 9		Individual Decisions n = 22	
		Frequency	b x c	Frequency	b x c
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(c)	(d)
0	17.9176	1	17.92	3	53.75
1	13.1218	-	-	1	13.12
2	9.6958	2	19.39	2	19.39
3	7.0756	-	-	5	35.38
4	5.0389	2	10.38	3	15.12
5	3.4608	3	10.38	3	10.38
6	2.2633	-	-	3	6.79
7	1.3863	-	-	1	1.39
8	0.7787	1	0.78	1	0.78
9	0.3897	-	-	-	-
Total		9	$x^2 = 58.56$ (I)	22	$x^2 = 156.10$ (II)

(I) For $df = 18$, the value of x^2 required for significance at the .001 level is 42.31

(II) For $df = 44$, the value of x^2 required for significance at the .001 level is 78.75

TABLE XXX

COMBINATION OF INDEPENDENT TESTS OF PHASE HYPOTHESIS
PROTESTANT SEPARATE SCHOOL BOARD

Trans-positions	$2 \log_e \frac{1}{p}$	Meetings n = 10		Individual Decisions n = 28	
		Frequency	b x c	Frequency	b x c
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(c)	(d)
0	17.9176	2	35.84	2	35.84
1	13.1218	-	-	2	26.24
2	9.6958	-	-	5	48.48
3	7.0765	3	21.23	4	28.31
4	5.0389	3	15.12	7	35.27
5	3.4608	-	-	4	13.84
6	2.2633	2	4.53	3	6.79
7	1.3863	-	-	-	-
8	0.7787	-	-	-	-
9	0.3897	-	-	1	0.39
Total		10	$x^2=76.72$ (I)	28	$x^2=195.16$ (II)

(I) For $df = 20$, the value of x^2 required for significance at the .001 level is 45.32

(II) For $df = 56$, the value of x^2 required for significance at the .001 level is 94.46

is present in the total sets of non-programmed decisions of the two school boards.

It is interesting to note, however, that in the case of eleven individual decisions of the Roman Catholic School Board and fifteen individual decisions of the Protestant Separate School Board, the null hypothesis of random distribution is sustained. It can also be demonstrated by partitioning the chi-square values of Tables XXIX and XXX that the subsets of eleven decisions in one case and fifteen decisions in the other also fail as an aggregate, to pass the null hypothesis. This is shown in Table XXXI.

It is apparent that the subsets of individual cases with three or fewer transpositions do deviate significantly from random expectations at the .001 level while those subsets of individual cases with more than three transpositions do not deviate significantly at the .001 level of confidence although they do deviate significantly at the .05 level of confidence.

The findings seem to indicate that the process of decision-making in the two St. Albert school boards was neither random nor without form. Instead, there is evidence to show that the decision process on the whole tended to follow a definite pattern of sequential acts. With respect to non-programmed decisions, the process

TABLE XXXI.

CHI-SQUARE PARTITIONED BETWEEN CASES ACCORDING TO
INDEPENDENT TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE

Board	3 or fewer Transpos	No. of Decisions	Observed Chi-Square	Chi-square	Value
				.05(2ndf)	.001(2ndf)
R.C. Public School	Yes	11	121.64	33.92	48.27
	No	11	34.46	33.92	48.27
Prot. Separate School	Yes	13	138.87	38.88	54.05
	No	15	56.29	43.77	59.70

appeared to conform closely to the theoretical hypothesis of phase movement; and in some decisions, the conformity between observed phase movement and expected phase movement was even closer than in others. It is suggested that the degree of conformity of phase movement to expectation is related to the closeness with which the nature of the problem approximates the ideal full-fledged conditions.¹⁸

III. INDIVIDUAL PARTICIPATION AND ROLES AS DETERMINED BY INTERACTION PROCESS ANALYSIS

Role Differentiation

The way in which participation in the decision-making process tends to be distributed among members of the two school boards gives an indication of the roles that various board members play in the formulation of policy decisions. The number and type of interactions an individual initiates as well as receives tends to reflect the role he plays and the status he is accorded within the group.

Table XXXII gives the aggregate of all types of activity initiated by and received by each individual member of each of the boards over the ten sessions analyzed

¹⁸ That is, problems in which the three characteristics - problems of orientation, problems of evaluation and problems of control - are present and none is greatly minimized.

TABLE XXXII

MEAN PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL INTERACTIONS INITIATED AND
RECEIVED BY INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF THE
TWO ST. ALBERT SCHOOL BOARDS

Inter- actions	Roman Catholic Public School Board Members									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0	n-m	Total
	19.97	22.44	8.48	2.87	11.47	27.49	5.04	-	2.13	100
Received	16.58	12.27	3.67	1.88	6.85	10.91	3.79	42.95	1.11	100.01

Inter- actions	Protestant Separate School Board Members									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0	n-m	Total
	18.03	13.47	5.68	12.28	15.84	12.70	15.36	-	6.64	100
Received	18.85	7.89	2.66	5.57	7.51	7.92	7.61	36.56	5.43	100

using Bales' observational method of interaction analysis. The scoring system recognizes acts addressed to the group as a whole as well as to specific individuals.

Numbers 1, 6 and 7 are the chairmen, the superintendents and the secretary-treasurers respectively of the boards. The group as a whole is represented by the symbol "0" and non-members by the abbreviation "n-m". Non-members are those individuals who participated in decision-making at various times because of their involvement in particular decision problems. These included spokesmen of parent delegations, members of the teaching and administrative staff of schools, architects and representatives of civic, social or professional organizations. The percentage of interaction by non-members in the Protestant Separate School Board meetings will be seen to be nearly four times that of non-members in the Roman Catholic Public School Board meetings. This difference is to be expected in view of the fact that the former had many more visitors attend their meetings than the latter (Table VIII).

Table XXXII reveals that individual members participate differentially in the decision process and that some members are more active on the average than others. The way in which interactions are distributed in the two school boards is interesting. In the Roman Catholic Public School

Board interactions were initiated mainly by three individuals--the chairman, (PSB-1); the superintendent, (PSB-6); and a board member, (PSB-2). These three individuals were responsible for a disproportionate share of the interaction, accounting for over 70 per cent of the total interactions, while the remaining four members contributed nearly 28 per cent of the total interactions. In the Protestant School Board group, interaction was distributed more evenly with six of the seven members each contributing at least 12.28 per cent of the total interactions. These results appear to support an observation made earlier to the effect that influence is perceived by the members of the Roman Catholic School Board to be confined to, or concentrated in board members PSB-1, PSB-2, PSB-3 and PSB-6, while influence in the Protestant Separate School Board was perceived to be spread widely over the entire board.¹⁹ The number of designated areas of board activity in which members perceived themselves to be influential were determined by the board members' responses to Part I of Interview Schedule No. 1, and are shown in Table XXXIII.

Tables XXII and XXIII taken together would appear to indicate that in cases where a few board members perceive

¹⁹See p. 193.

themselves to be influential over a wide range of board activity, interaction tends to be monopolized by the active few; while in cases where perceived influence is shared by all of the members of the group, interaction tends to be distributed more or less evenly. The inference here is that the frequency of interaction appears to be directly related to the extent to which a board member perceives himself to be influential in affecting board decisions.

TABLE XXXIII

NUMBER OF BOARD MEMBERS PERCEIVING THEMSELVES
TO BE INFLUENTIAL IN 0-6 DESIGNATED
AREAS OF BOARD ACTIVITY

Areas of Activity	Number of Board Members	
	R.C. Public School Board	Prot. Separate School Board
6	0	0
5	0	0
4	4	2
3	1	3
2	1	2
1	0	0
0	1	0

Table XXXIV shows the percentage distribution of total interactions initiated and received by individual members of each board in the four sub-areas: positive reactions (A), attempted answers (B), questions (C), and negative reactions (D).

For each school board, members were rank ordered according to the total amount of their participation in

TABLE XXXIV

PERCENTAGE OF INTERACTION PER SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS
FOR EACH AREA OF THE INTERACTION
PROCESS ANALYSIS

Area	Inter- actions	Roman Catholic School Board Members						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A	Initiated Received	1.21	1.14	0.41	0.22	0.77	0.64	0.10
		0.80	0.37	0.26	0.17	0.57	0.74	0.22
B	Initiated Received	13.14	16.43	6.61	1.96	7.66	24.41	4.27
		12.35	10.21	2.98	1.45	5.49	6.15	2.10
C	Initiated Received	5.50	4.69	1.40	0.61	2.85	2.27	0.63
		3.36	1.40	0.37	0.25	0.68	3.90	1.46
D	Initiated Received	0.12	0.29	0.06	0.08	0.19	0.17	0.04
		0.07	0.29	0.06	0.01	1.11	0.12	0.01
Total	Initiated Received	19.97	22.55	8.48	2.87	11.47	27.49	5.04
		16.58	12.27	3.67	1.88	6.85	10.91	3.79

TABLE XXXIV (Continued)

Area	Inter- actions	Protestant Separate School Board Members						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A	Initiated Received	1.03 0.43	0.71 0.51	0.27 0.23	0.56 0.27	0.48 0.37	0.28 0.38	0.18 0.22
B	Initiated Received	12.73 16.11	10.01 6.53	4.24 2.17	10.21 4.56	12.37 6.34	11.86 4.91	13.69 4.96
C	Initiated Received	4.10 1.91	2.33 0.61	1.00 0.21	1.07 0.44	2.82 0.62	0.44 2.48	1.22 2.18
D	Initiated Received	0.26 0.40	0.42 0.24	0.18 0.05	0.44 0.30	0.17 0.18	0.12 0.15	0.27 0.25
Total	Initiated Received	18.03 18.85	13.47 7.89	5.68 2.66	12.28 5.57	15.84 7.51	12.70 7.92	15.36 7.61

interaction, and according to the amount of their participation in each of the four sub-areas A, B, C and D (Table XXXIV). The five sets of rank orderings so obtained were taken with the rank orderings of board members for perceived overall influence in board task activity based on their ratings of each other in six areas of task performance (Table XVI) and correlations between all pairs of orderings were computed. These correlations are shown in Table XXXV.

An examination of Tables XVI, XXXIV and XXXV reveal some interesting facts and relationships.

1.(a) The data contained in Table XVI seem to indicate that members of the Roman Catholic Public School Board as compared with the members of the Separate School Board perceived fewer numbers of their group as wielders of influence over the six areas of activity designated. The correlations displayed in Table XXV appear to indicate that in the Roman Catholic School Board there is a high degree of correlation ($p = 0.75$) between members' rank orderings of each other according to influence and interaction behavior of members in task area (B). By comparison ($p = 0.43$), the corresponding correlation for the Protestant Separate School Board is somewhat lower.

TABLE XXXV

INTERCORRELATIONS BETWEEN PERCEIVED OVERALL INFLUENCE
RATINGS OF BOARD MEMBERS OF EACH OTHER AND THEIR
RANK ORDERINGS ACCORDING TO INDIVIDUAL
PARTICIPATION IN TOTAL INTERACTION AND
IN EACH OF FOUR SUB-AREAS

Area	Roman Catholic Public School Board				
	Overall Influence	Total Interacts.	Positive Reacts.	Attempted Answers	Questions Negative Reacts.
Overall Influence		0.75	0.43	0.75	0.46
Total Interaction			0.71	1.00	0.75
Positive Reactions (A)				0.71	0.96
Attempted Answers (B)					0.75
Questions (C)					0.71
Negative Reactions (D)					0.96
	Protestant Separate School Board				
	Overall Influence	Total Interacts.	Positive Reacts.	Attempted Answers	Questions Negative Reacts.
Overall Influence		0.11	0.22	0.43	-0.04
Total Interaction			0.38	0.79	0.64
Positive Reactions (A)				-0.07	0.61
Attempted Answers (B)					0.46
Questions (C)					0.14
Negative Reactions (D)					0.11
					0.32
					0.11
					0.22

(b) The correlation between any two characteristics was found to be consistently high for the Roman Catholic School Board indicating an element of recognized and accepted leadership within the board. Those members who interacted frequently were also generally active in "getting the job done" (areas B and C), as well as in maintaining group solidarity (areas A and D).

(c) The correlations between interaction behavior characteristics, taken two at a time, were relatively low and, in some instances, nil for the Protestant Separate School Board group. In general, the highest participators in interaction were the most active in asking questions and attempting answers ($p = 0.79$ and $p = 0.64$ respectively), but were not particularly active in positive and negative reactions ($p = 0.38$ and $p = -0.11$ respectively). A lack of correlation was found to exist between attempted answers and reactive behavior both positive and negative ($p = -0.07$ and $p = -0.11$ respectively). The inference here is that the high interacting members tended to be task-achievement oriented and to specialize in active problem-solving attempts, while the relatively lower interactors tended to engage in more reactive and less task-oriented behavior than the high interactors. The apparent complementarity of these two patterns suggests a reason for the wider spread of

interaction on the whole for the Protestant Separate School Board group.

2. Table XXXIV shows that the four most active participants, ranked in order of total interaction, in the Roman Catholic Public School Board group were: PSB-6 (the superintendent), PSB-1 (the chairman), PSB-2 and PSB-5. PSB-6 (the superintendent) initiated, by far, the largest percentage of problem solving attempts (24.41 per cent in sub-area B), and a fairly high percentage of positive and negative reactions (0.64 per cent in sub-area A and 0.17 per cent in sub-area D). These findings lead one to infer that the superintendent attempted to assume the role of the ideal leader addressing himself to both the task functions and the social emotional functions of the group. On the receiving end, the analysis shows that the superintendent received more agreement, solidarity and tension release (0.74 per cent in sub-area A), more questions (3.90 per cent in sub-area C) and an average percentage of negative reactions (0.12 per cent in sub-area D).

These results would appear to indicate that the superintendent was recognized and accepted as the leader of the group.

By contrast PSB-2 interacted heavily in problem solving attempts (16.43 per cent in sub-area B), and in the

social-emotional areas (1.14 per cent in sub-area A and 0.29 per cent in sub-area D). He received, however, a relatively low percentage of agreement and tension release (0.37 per cent in sub-area A) and a relatively high percentage of disagreement and negative reactions (0.29 per cent in sub-area D). On the basis of the qualitative and quantitative nature of interactions initiated and received, one might infer that PSB-2 attempted to play a leadership role, but the group failed to respond favourably to his bid for leadership. PSB-1 (the chairman) though not receiving the same support from the group as the superintendent, was nevertheless more readily accepted as sharing leadership with the superintendent than was PSB-2.

PSB-5 participated to a somewhat lesser extent in task sub-areas B and C (7.66 per cent and 2.85 per cent respectively) than PSB-1, PSB-2 and PSB-6. He was relatively more active in the social-emotional sub-areas A and D (0.77 per cent and 0.19 per cent respectively). It is also interesting to note that PSB-5 received a comparatively high proportion of acts expressing agreement and tension release (0.57 per cent) and a low proportion of negative reactions (0.11 per cent). The inference that may be drawn here is that PSB-5 tended to leave task-achievement problems to others while he directed his efforts to reducing tension

and promoting group solidarity. His efforts, in this respect, appear to have received favourable response from the group.

The remaining three members of the group, PSB-3, PSB-4 and PSB-7 appeared to interact minimally.

In general, therefore, it may be said that the Roman Catholic Public School Board group tended to be "hierarchy conscious" accepting the authority and power of those placed in formal positions of leadership. The superintendent was, undoubtedly, the leader. Apparently, his right to leadership was recognized on the basis of his professional authority and his status of high influence in the community.

3. All but SSB-3 of the seven member Protestant Separate School Board group were active in both task achievement and group maintenance.

The chairman (SSB-1) initiated and received a higher percentage of questions and attempted answers in the task sub-areas B and C taken together. At the same time he also received a far greater percentage of disagreement and negative reactions (sub-area D) than any of the others; and, in fact, a greater percentage of negative reactions than he initiated. Among the high interactors only SSB-2 and SSB-4 received a smaller percentage of negative reactions than

they initiated. It is apparent that in this board group leadership was not seen as being vested in any particular individual. Each individual member was regarded as a "specialist" in a specific area of board activity in which he was perceived to be competent. Thus leadership functions in this group appeared to be distributed.

Roles of superintendents and secretary-treasurers.

Attention is drawn to the interaction profiles of the superintendents and secretary-treasurers (members 6 and 7) of the two school boards as shown in Table XXXIV. The distribution of frequencies of interaction in area B (attempted answers) between the two administrative officers of each school board reflects the formal organization of administration for each system. In the Roman Catholic Public School system the superintendent is the board's chief executive officer and is solely responsible to the board for the operation of the school district.²⁰ Over 24 per cent of the total interactions initiated by him are in area B, while 4.27 per cent of the total interactions initiated by the secretary-treasurer are in the same area.

²⁰See Organization Chart of the Roman Catholic Public School system on p. 137 of Ch. V.

In the Protestant Separate School system the superintendent, though designated as the chief executive officer of the board shares with the secretary-treasurer responsibility to the board for the operation of the school district.²¹ Nearly 12 per cent of total interactions initiated by him are in area B while over 13 per cent of total interactions initiated by the secretary-treasurer are in the same area.

It must also be pointed out that while school board members initiate about 60 per cent of the attempted answers in area B (see Table XXXIV) as compared with about 34 per cent jointly by the superintendent and the secretary-treasurer, board members account for 84 per cent of the questions raised in area C as compared with 14 per cent on the average, by the superintendent and secretary-treasurer jointly. On the average, about 34 per cent of these questions are directed to the superintendent and the secretary-treasurer. School board members therefore ask most of the questions with the expectation that their administrative executives will provide the necessary information, opinion and direction.

²¹Ibid.

TABLE XXXVI
 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INTERACTIONS IN
 AREAS B AND C BY SPECIFIED AGGREGATES
 WITHIN THE BOARD GROUP

	Area B				Area C			
	Board Members	Superintendents and Secretary-treasurers	Group as a whole	Non-members	Board Members	Superintendents and Secretary-treasurers	Group as a whole	Non-members
School Inter-Board actions								
R.C. Public Initiated	59.57	35.26	-	5.20	83.57	15.74	-	0.69
Received	43.30	11.52	44.41	0.77	33.91	32.16	25.53	9.40
Prot. Sep. Initiated	61.87	32.20	-	5.93	84.69	12.33	-	2.98
Received	47.56	12.96	36.19	3.29	29.97	35.92	24.12	9.99

The results in general tend to indicate that board members as individuals and their administrative officers - the superintendent and the secretary-treasurer - have different patterns of interaction which appear to reflect their perceived roles in a structured framework of expected functions and responsibilities. The superintendents of the two boards may be described as task leaders performing most of their activity in answering questions, providing information and opinion relevant to problems confronting the board, and suggesting solutions to those problems. They ask few questions and participate minimally in the area of socio-emotional activity. School board members, taken as a whole, present a pattern of behavior complementary to that of the superintendent, asking a large number of questions and performing to a large extent in the areas of social activity. The results tend to support hypotheses 4 and 5 which state:

Hypothesis 4. The way board members behave at policy-determining meetings is affected by what they perceive to be their role, and by what they perceive to be the role expectations of others for them.

Hypothesis 5. The way the superintendent behaves at policy-determining meetings is affected by what he perceives to be his role, and by what he believes to be the way others think he should behave.

Status of School Board Members and Superintendents

Hypothesis 6 which was made earlier, concerned the status of members of the two board groups and states: the role behavior of the superintendent will depend upon the amount of status accorded him by members of the board, as well as by the amount of status held by individual board members. In order to test the hypothesis, a "generalized status index" was computed for each member of the two groups, using Bales' method of determining such an index from empirical interaction data. Bales theorizes that an individual's general status index is a composite of three sub-indexes which describe certain relationships between the interaction addressed to him (the individual) and the interaction which he addresses to others. The three sub-indexes are: (1) The index of Direct Access to Resources, designated as the "C.R." index, indicates the proportion of all acts in sub-area C received by a specified individual. (2) The index of Indirect Access to Resources, designated as the "B.R." index, indicates the extent to which the questions of a specified individual were answered in sub-area B, as compared to others in the group. (3) The index of Degree of Control, designated as the "A.D.R." index, indicates the extent to which attempts of a specified

individual were answered positively in sub-area A instead of negatively in sub-area D, as compared to others in the group. The formulae used in determining these indexes are presented in Appendix C. The generalized status index is the mean of the three sub-indexes. Table XXXVII presents the sub indexes and the generalized status index of the members of the two school boards.

Table XXXVII shows that the chairman (No. 1) and the superintendent (No. 6) of each board have the highest generalized status. Together with the secretary-treasurers (No. 7) their highest scores are in the CR and ADR sub-indexes. This finding indicates that, in comparison with the others, these men (and particularly the superintendents) were primarily task oriented and performed the group task role of facilitating and coordinating group effort in the definition, evaluation and solution of problems confronting the group. A high ADR index indicates further that these men were sufficiently skillful and flexible in handling the social-emotional problems of the group so that in emphasizing task functions, negative feelings aroused as a result did not outweigh the strong positive feelings other members held towards them. One difference in the sub-indexes of the chairman and the administrative officers of the board differentiates the roles they assume. The difference is

TABLE XXXVII

SUB INDEXES CR, BR, ADR AND GENERALIZED STATUS INDEX
FOR EACH MEMBER OF THE TWO SCHOOL BOARDS

Index	Roman Catholic Public School Board Members						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
C.R.	17.5	9.0	2.1	1.3	4.0	22.7	9.6
B.R.	10.4	10.6	2.8	1.2	5.0	6.3	2.5
A.D.R.	14.2	13.0	6.1	2.1	8.3	24.7	6.0
General Status	14.0	10.9	3.7	1.5	5.8	17.9	6.0
Protestant Separate School Board Members							
C.R.	15.7	4.0	1.3	3.4	5.5	18.6	17.3
B.R.	18.0	5.3	1.5	4.8	6.7	5.8	5.5
A.D.R.	9.3	8.7	3.5	5.2	10.7	10.9	8.4
General Status	14.3	6.0	2.1	4.5	7.6	11.8	10.4

in the BR index. The administrative officers, i.e. the superintendent and the secretary-treasurer, have their lowest scores in this sub-index. At least two board members in each board group have higher scores in this respect. All the board members have a higher BR index than a CR index, indicating that board members generally assume the role of requesting information, opinion and direction from authoritative sources, usually their own professional advisors - the superintendent and the secretary-treasurer.

Notice must be taken of the status differential between the two secretary-treasurers, and the resultant effect upon the status accorded the superintendents. The secretary-treasurer of the Protestant Separate School system was accorded a high generalized status index, paralleling that of the superintendent in every dimension. In this school system, it will be recalled, the superintendent was designated as the chief executive of the board. In actual practice, however, the executive functions tended to fall into two categories with certain functions distinctly the responsibility of the secretary-treasurer. It was expected that each would provide the board with information, opinion and direction on problems predominantly within their own areas of competence, and that each would collaborate with

the other in assisting the board in matters of mutual interest and concern. A somewhat different situation was obtained in the Roman Catholic Public School District administrative organization. The superintendent was by designation and practice the chief executive and advisor to the board. All matters relating to the operation of the school system were channeled through him and the position of secretary-treasurer was subordinate to the position of superintendent. The status indexes obtained by the use of interaction process analysis, points up the differentiated role expectation held by the board members for their two administrative officers.

Rank correlation computed for the generalized status index obtained by interaction analysis and the influence status obtained from board member ratings of each other (Table XVI) was high for the Roman Catholic Public School group, but considerably lower for the Protestant Separate School group.²² It is suggested that the relatively lower correlation for the latter group was due mainly to the wide disparity in the rank orders of SSB-4. According to his generalized status index, SSB-4 ranked sixth in status while according to ratings made by his fellow members he ranked

²²For the Roman Catholic Public School Board $p = 0.82$
For the Protestant Separate School Board $p = 0.39$

first in over-all general influence. The disparity may be explained by the fact that Bales' generalized status index is determined entirely by the volume of overt communication initiated and received during the discussion by a specified individual as compared with the others. It fails to take into account the active role assumed by some individuals outside of board meetings in the solution of board problems. SSB-4 ranked sixth when compared with the other members in the percentage of interactions initiated and received during the ten meetings observed. Yet he was the most active of all in discussing school district problems outside of board meetings with fellow board members, school district officials and others (Table XIV). It must also be remembered that SSB-4 was perceived to be, and in fact was, one of the top ten influentials in the community (Table X) and a power figure in school board affairs (Table XII).

Bearing in mind the limitation of the observational technique with respect to the situation described in the preceding paragraph, it may be concluded that in general the status accorded the superintendent as revealed by interaction process analysis agrees with the rating assigned him by co-members on the basis of his influence and contribution to the solution of school district problems. The findings are further substantiated by the school board-superintendent

relations described in Chapter V, and support the hypothesis that the role behavior of the superintendent will depend upon the amount of status accorded him by members of the board, as well as the amount of status held by individual board members.

Summary

The findings presented in this chapter appear to indicate that the two school boards in St. Albert, like other problem-solving groups, do tend to have a definite process pattern by which problems and issues confronting them are discussed, debated and finally resolved. Interactions between members of each group during the course of deliberation leading up to and following the final decisional choice were distributed quantitatively and qualitatively in a profile that tended to be more like those of other school board groups than of other types of problem-solving groups such as laboratory and psycho-therapy groups. The differences operating in profiles are, to some extent, due to differences in the variables which form the situational context within which each type of group functions.

When the composite profiles for programmed and non-programmed decisions were determined, differences in the percentage of interactions within categories were revealed.

The findings showed that school board members interacted with relatively greater frequency giving opinion and disagreeing with one another when attempting to make a non-programmed decision. Both types of decisions appeared to require similar amounts of orientation and information regarding the problem about which the decision was to be made. The explanation advanced for the differences in the processes by which these two types of decisions were reached was that non-programmed decisions were by nature decisions that were novel and complex requiring judgment and creativity on the part of the school board members.

It was also found that when the total interactions dealing with each decision were divided into three quantitatively equal phases, orientation reached its peak in the first, evaluation rose sharply in the second and increased slightly more in the third, while control attained a distinct maximum in the third. Concurrent with these transitions, the relative frequencies of both positive and negative reactions tended to progressively increase.

Individual members of the two school boards participated differentially in the decision process. Some had a larger percentage of the total interaction than others; also some had a larger proportion of total interaction within the four sub-sections of interaction than others.

Participation differentials appeared to reflect role performance that had consequences of importance to the functioning of the group as well as consequences of importance to the individual performing the role. Board members played roles different from those of the superintendents. The superintendents primarily provided more information, opinion and suggestion, whereas board members asked more questions directing a large share of the interrogations to the superintendents. Interpersonal behavior tended to be influenced by group members' perspectives of their own roles, their perception of the expectations held by others for their roles and by the perceived expectations held for each other. The perceptions of board members of each other with respect to the value and skill of their respective contributions to board decisions in six designated areas of board activity were accurate. The individual who was rated high in influencing board decisions was the same individual in each case who did in fact make the most frequent contribution to the interaction process.

On the basis of individual percentages of total interactions initiated and received, the chairmen and superintendents of the two boards had the highest generalized status of all. This means that these men assumed a large responsibility for group functioning and played an

active part in contributing to the solution of board problems. They provided more information, had more questions asked of them and generally received positive rather than negative reactions from their co-members. They were regarded as being more knowledgeable and skillful and having more valuable opinion than the other members.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It was indicated in Chapter I that the purpose of this study was to examine and describe the decision-making process as it took place in two school boards operating in a single community, and to describe the effect of internal and external situational variables upon the deliberative process and its decisional outcome.

The four-way approach to the study of the process of decision-making and how it is affected by the variables in the situational environment within which it takes place, appeared to yield results that were mutually complementary and supportive. Data obtained through personal interviews with respect to the concepts held by board members and superintendents concerning their perceptions of their own roles and the expectations of others for their roles were consistent with the data yielded independently by an analysis of the organizational structure, sociometric relationships within each board, and the interaction process. Information obtained through the interview schedule about board member contacts with influential figures in the community supported the findings of the site issue analysis about community influences upon board decisions. Background information about

the community and its development in recent years proved useful in understanding the resulting problems that developed, and in relating the attitudes and actions of board members to variables in the situation within which they functioned.

Bales' "interaction process analysis" technique was employed in the collection and analysis of data pertaining to interaction between members of the two school board groups and covered a total of fifty-three meetings. Interview schedules were used to secure data with respect to members of the board groups and the influence structure of the community. The data presented lead to the following conclusions regarding the hypotheses advanced in Chapter II:

1. The political, social and economic beliefs held by board members play a part in the decisions they make at board meetings. Chapter III presented data relating to the political, social and economic backgrounds of the members of the two school boards. Among the current incumbents were to be found small businessmen, managers and professionals. They were respected members of the community and maintained an active membership in civic, social, service, professional and religious organizations. They described themselves generally as "regular middle class Canadians

who valued achievement and respectability." Their expressed views on what they conceived to be the proper functions of the school as a socializing agency, though differing in certain minor aspects, generally reflected the shared belief that education was the principal aid to political, social and economic advancement. Every child, therefore, should be encouraged and assisted to achieve as high an educational status as his abilities would allow.

How did these beliefs affect the determination of policy? As a group they tended to be cautious in the expenditure of funds keeping down expenditures on things they considered "non-essential and contributing little directly to the teaching-learning situation." "We should not get involved in expensive playgrounds and elaborate recreational facilities," said SSB-3 during a discussion on the size of playground area for a proposed new school. "We are in the business of education and these other things should be left up to the parents and other community agencies."

At one meeting a decision was to be made with respect to the appointment of an additional high-school teacher. The demands of a slight increase in the anticipated enrollment and an expansion of the academic program had to be weighed against the demands of the physical education program which desperately needed the services of a lady

instructor. To meet the first demand was to employ a "top caliber" person at a considerably higher cost to the school system, but "it will be enriching the scholastic program," said PSB-2. The second demand could be met at considerably less expense and "do much for the morale of the student body," argued the superintendent, PSB-6. After approximately thirty minutes of discussion the board decided in favor of expanding the academic program. PSB-5 argued that in his view "it was more important to see that children received an education and training that fitted them for a place in the economic life of society." PSB-4 agreed with him and added that she could not see "how the board could avoid expanding the high school curriculum and still maintain standards." "Should our children be penalized because we happen to be a relatively small school system?" she asked. PSB-2 wondered whether the physical education program contributed significantly enough to the educational program to "merit expansion at the expense of neglecting other academic departments." "It didn't do much for my morale while I was in the armed services," he declared. PSB-5 concluded the discussion with, "Except for a few bashing a ball into a net, I don't see that many benefit from physical education. From my point of view I think one physical education instructor

is sufficient. I move that we leave the physical education as is, and up the academic program."

In addition to believing that children should be encouraged to strive for high academic and occupational goals, board members believed that children should be brought up to value and respect high moral standards. Lack of proper supervision and the absence of controls were felt to be prime contributors to delinquency.

"Why do students question board policy?" asked SSB-2 at one meeting. "You give them the reasons for the policies we have adopted but these are never good enough for them!" he added. The debate centered around a request made by the high school students for permission to hold a dance in the high school gymnasium. The board had previously adopted the policy of restricting all student functions to just one school gymnasium in the system to avoid the expense of having to refinish the floors of all the gymnasias more often than regular school activities would necessitate. In addition, they felt it unwise to permit students to hold late evening functions in the high school gymnasium since the school buildings were somewhat isolated from the built-up area of the neighborhood, and "anything could happen" if they were left to themselves to find their way through the lonely and unlighted road that led to the school. Some of the questions asked were:

At what time will the dance end? What arrangements have been proposed for supervision? Are the parents willing to drop the students off at the school and pick them up again at the close of the function? What regulations are proposed to prevent students from leaving the building without permission during the dance? It was finally voted to grant the request only on the understanding that "adequate supervision and chaperonage is provided, that stringent regulations are set up to discourage anyone from leaving the building before the close of the evening's affair, and students be required to phone their parents to come and get them if they desired to leave before the dance ended." SSB-2 voted against the motion and wished to have his objection recorded. He said that he was greatly concerned about teen-age functions of this nature particularly after he had heard of what happened at other schools. He was opposed to the school's having anything to do with teen-age dances and felt that if children wanted dances it was the responsibility of the parents to take them out.

The findings appeared to support the hypothesis that decisions made at board meetings are, in fact, shaped by the political, social and economic beliefs of the board members.

2. Though theoretically held as representing the community and reflecting community norms, values and

aspirations, board members in practice develop attitudes towards certain educational issues through limited contacts in the community: (a) their own children, if of school age; (b) individuals who are in some way involved in school issues in the community: (c) influentials in the community accorded political status or having political power: (d) significant others. The data obtained supported this hypothesis. In general, all the board members conceived one of their roles to be "reflectors of community thought." In actual practice however, the members varied in their individual efforts to keep in touch with community thinking on school affairs. The members of the Roman Catholic Public School Board apparently were more active than their counterparts on the Protestant Separate School Board, in maintaining contact with a representative, though somewhat small sample of the school's publics.

Some issues were raised at board meetings following reports received by board members from their children. One youngster reported that a particular girl whom he had marked tardy for entering the class after the bell had rung was excused for her tardiness by the teacher just because she happened to be "teacher's favourite." The board member-parent questioned the superintendent with respect to this matter and expressed his own attitude towards "favouritism."

He asked, "What if this girl is given the award for attendance and punctuality when the kids know that she was, in fact, late on some days?" Others followed with either complaints or "news" brought home by their children. After a sixteen minute discussion on these reports, the superintendent jokingly remarked, "School trustees should not have children in school." At other times and particularly in the selection and retention of teachers, the discussion hinged to some extent upon what the children had to say about the teachers.

The manner in which the site issue was debated clearly indicated that board members tended to act on the basis of what the vocal few, either as individuals or as aggregates, had to say. In an interview, one civic official criticized the stand taken by the boards in the site dispute claiming that certain members of the boards had adopted attitudes that were narrowly based on the opinions of a few malcontents, while they failed to learn the views of the many others who were capable of appraising the situation objectively and dispassionately.

When the final solution was proposed it was immediately recognized by some as originating with certain influentials in the community.

3. There is a basic pattern by which school boards arrive at decisions. They have one distinct pattern for

making "programmed" decisions and another distinct and separate pattern for arriving at "non-programmed" decisions.

The data suggest the applicability of this hypothesis to the two school boards studied and corroborate the findings of two other studies, referred to in Chapter VI, dealing with two sets of school boards selected from two specific, geographical areas in the United States.

With respect to decision-making in general, the two school boards, like other school board groups, displayed a definite basic pattern of interaction by which they arrived at decisions. Their interaction profiles (Table XX) were remarkably similar, showing a close correspondence in the percentage distribution of interactions in each of the twelve interaction categories. The analysis of interactions that took place in arriving at non-programmed decisions (i.e. of full-fledged problems) showed a consistent temporal order in which functional problems of communication, evaluation, control, decision, tension reduction and reintegration were emphasized. All were present within the total period of discussion and decision, but each received a differing emphasis at certain points of time as group discussion proceeded from initial orientation to final solution of the problem.

The two school boards made many more programmed decisions than non-programmed decisions; and, on the average, non-programmed decisions required more acts per decision than programmed decisions. Again, the corresponding interaction patterns of the two boards for each type of decision showed marked similarities with a close correspondence in the percentage distribution of acts in nearly all of the twelve interaction categories. In making non-programmed decisions the members of the boards were found to interact more frequently in giving opinion and expressing disagreement than they did in the case of programmed decisions. The relatively high proportion of acts in these two categories characteristically identified the interaction profile of non-programmed decisions from the interaction profile of programmed decisions.

4. The way board members behave at policy-determining meetings is, in part, affected by what they perceive to be their role, and by what they perceive to be the role expectations of others for them. The evidence clearly indicated that the members of the two boards were guided, to some extent, in their behavior at board meetings

by what they perceived to be their functions as school trustees. Their concepts as to what constituted their roles were, in general, developed around their legal responsibilities and knowledge gained from attendance at trustee seminars and conferences besides their own personal reading in the literature on boardmanship and administration. However, each one interpreted his role in his own way and was pleased to describe it as he saw it.

The board members appeared to pattern their role behavior in accordance with their role concepts and in accordance with what they perceived to be the expectations of others for their roles. Instances were cited in Chapter ^{II and} V showing that board members were aware of the forces that assisted in electing them to office and the expectations (specific in some cases) that were held for them while in office. These members indicated clearly by their behavior that they intended to fulfill the purpose for which they were placed in office.

5. The way the superintendent behaves at policy-determining meetings is, in part, affected by what he perceives to be his role, and by what he believes to be the way others think he should behave. The findings presented in Chapters V and VI substantiate this hypothesis. The two superintendents perceived their role to be one of

educational leadership, a role different from that of the rest of the members of the board. The interaction patterns of the two superintendents varied so slightly that it seems reasonable to conclude that this pattern of behavior was a portrayal of the administrator's role. It was found that the superintendents received more positive reactions and agreement than they initiated. They initiated more suggestions, opinions and information than they received. More queries for information, opinion and suggestion, and less negative reaction and disagreement were directed to them than they initiated. On the other hand, board members as a whole were most active in tension-reducing and asking for orientation, opinion and suggestion. The nature of the superintendents' behavior patterns together with the fact that board members typically looked to the superintendent for guidance in the classification, analysis and solution of task-problems seems to support the conclusion that the superintendent is the task-leader of the board group.

The manner in which role behavior was influenced by role concept and perception of role expectations was clearly demonstrated in the case of the two superintendents included in the study. Their behavior patterns were similar but not identical. Minor variations were apparent and

could be reasonably attributed to slight variations in role concept and role expectations held by and for them. For example, the superintendent of the Roman Catholic Public School system conceived his role as being that of top executive of the system, both by designation and by function, with sole responsibility to the board for the proper operation of the school system in all its aspects including finance. His role concept was reinforced by the role expectations held for him by his trustee employers. In contrast though, the superintendent of the Protestant Separate School system also conceived his role to be that of chief executive of his school system; he perceived that the board expected him to perform as such in areas of activity that fell within the area of his professional expertise. In other areas he was expected to collaborate with others. Thus in his case task leadership appeared to have been shared with other members of the board group.

6. The role behavior of the superintendent will depend upon the amount of status accorded him by the members of the board, as well as the amount of status held by individual board members. This hypothesis was also substantiated by the empirical data presented in Chapter VI. The superintendents were accorded high generalized status

by board members in recognition of the fact that they did have greater access to resources and were in possession of knowledge and skills that were important in controlling a decision. The evidence tended to indicate clearly that the superintendent of the Roman Catholic Public School system was accorded a relatively higher status in all three sub-indexes by his board group than the superintendent of the Protestant Separate School system was in his. As a matter of fact, interaction data revealed that he was unmistakably the leader of the group not only in task-achievement but also in group maintenance. He had, by far, the highest index of Direct Access to Resources and the highest index of Control. The superintendent of the Protestant Separate School system was shown to have shared leadership status with others. He shared the highest index of Direct Access to Resources with the secretary-treasurer, and the highest index of Control with the chairman, the secretary-treasurer, SSB-2 and SSB-5. The difference in status accorded the superintendents by their respective boards and the amount of status held by individual board members may reasonably be presented as reasons for differences in the role behavior of the two men. The superintendent of the Roman Catholic Separate School system enjoyed a status that may be reasonably described as stable

and secure. It is conceivable that due to the length of his tenure as an administrator in the school system, his professional training and experience, and the status of power he held in the community with respect to community affairs in general and educational affairs in particular, he was recognized as a power figure by the rest of the board group. There was no reason, therefore, for him to either strive to achieve status because it was already his; nor to defend his status because he had no rivals. As a result, he was in a safe position to invite participation from board members in administrative staff appointments and in the evaluation of curricular and educational materials. It was pointed out that the status position of the superintendent of the Protestant Separate School system was not quite as stable or secure. He was, by contrast, in the process of establishing status. During his first few months in office he was cautious in his giving of orientation and expressing opinion or suggestion on issues regarding which board members held sharply divergent views. He felt it advisable to take a neutral position on the matter rather than to express a personal opinion that would favor one point of view or the other. This attitude provoked one board member, in a state of high emotion to state, "If we can't get information and opinion from our superintendent,

we shall seek elsewhere for it." Following this incident, the superintendent realized that if he shared access to resources with the board members he would tend to forfeit what was perhaps the only basis for status for a new superintendent.

Other Conclusions

The main emphasis of this study has been on "process". Two school boards were observed in action over a period of time, and an attempt has been made to investigate, analyze and describe the process by which these two groups reached final decisions on problems that confronted them from time to time in the course of their normal duties and responsibilities. In order to facilitate an orderly analysis of the process of decision-making, the study was structured around a conceptual framework. The two school board groups were regarded as systems consisting of human individuals as component parts having certain qualities and attributes, and held together by a network of relationships. Each system was seen to function, not as an isolated unit, but in relationship with each other and with a larger system within which each was contained and of which each was a component.

The main finding was that the two school boards exhibited a fairly uniform and stable pattern of interaction

activity at board meetings.¹ It was also observed that within each board group, members participated differentially in the decision process. These differentials in the number and quality of acts performed in interaction with each other tended to become stabilized in terms of their perceived expectations for each other. In other words, their perceptions of their own roles and of each other's role tended to be stable.

Other findings of the study that may have implications for administrative behavior and be of interest to those engaged in the study and practice of educational administration are as follows:

1. Sociometric choices within the board groups, indicated by the responses to the question: "Which other members of your board group do you frequently consult in regard to problems confronting the board?" are not uniformly distributed over the entire membership of each group. Instead, board members seemed to be highly selective in their choices.

2. The most frequently expressed reasons for choices made were related to personal qualifications, competence and social contacts of importance.

¹See p. 214, and p. 236.

3. The Roman Catholic Public School board group had a more diffuse network of two-step and three-step communication between members than the Protestant Separate School board group. They also recorded a higher percentage of positive reactions of tension reduction and agreement, and a lower percentage of negative reactions of disagreement and tension. It appears therefore that the amount of active communication that takes place within a group might bear some relationship to the degree of uniformity in attitude and opinion within the group.

4. In dealing with problems, board members tended to seek and accept the opinions, advice and recommendations of persons who had established with the board a reputation for sincerity, reliability and competence.

5. When board members sought advice and contacts outside the group, it was usually with influentials and authority figures in the community.

6. In general, board members perceived the superintendent to be the task leader of the group, the one who contributed most to the solution of problems. He was seldom identified as a social leader mediating personality clashes or maintaining group solidarity. The responsibility for meeting the social-emotional needs of the group are usually shared by the other members.

Implications for Administrative Behavior

If an administrator is to perform successfully his role as educational leader and innovator it is imperative that he develop a conceptual framework that will provide insights into the organization of which he is a part. If he conceives of the school system as a social system he is immediately aware of some of the components of the system and the setting in which it operates. He works with both individuals and groups. Each group strives to maintain its own integrity and its relationship with other groups. A knowledge of the sociology and psychology of groups includes an understanding of the types of problems experienced while performing the task for which they have been organized.

All groups share, in common, two basic needs, goal accomplishment and group maintenance. It is essential, therefore, for the administrator to be sensitive to the goals of the organization and the personal needs of the members of the group. His status in the group and his effectiveness as its leader will depend upon the extent to which he is skillful in responding to these needs.

Stability in social systems like school systems serving a carefully defined social function is considered to be necessary and desirable. School systems contain many built-in resistors that tend to resist disequilibrating forces and

to defeat unnecessary and ill-conceived attempts at change. If administrators are to function as agents of change and innovations, it seems obvious that they must proceed with a considerable understanding of the institutional and organizational environment in which they work. The notion of planned change presupposes an understanding on the part of the administrator of fundamental concepts relating to group dynamics and the dynamics of change in social systems. These concepts form the basis and provide the guidelines for initiating and deliberately affecting in a knowledgeable way, the workings of the system so as to successfully reach predetermined objectives. The development of diagnostic skills in determining the current state of affairs within the system at any given point in time, in identifying and assessing the relative strengths of anticipated "driving" and "restraining" forces within and without the system, in gauging the tolerance limit of the system, and in discerning the networks of influence, the channels of communication and the direction in which the flow of communication takes place in the system, would certainly facilitate the leadership function of the administrator.

There are other implications that may be suggested with respect to the validity of the research methods that have been used in this study. Statistical procedures for verification of conclusions reached and inferences drawn have been used to a limited extent only. The attempt has been to

observe, analyze and describe the process of decision-making and the situational influences that impinge upon it. No attempt was made to control variables in order to determine the effect of an isolated variable upon the process phenomenon. Basically, the study dealt with human individuals in an interdependent relationship with each other within a system. Each individual was, in addition, a part of other interlocking interaction groups and his behavioral contribution to the observed decision process could only be understood in terms of the structure and function of these interacting groups, and of the individual's position and role in them. These individual members, therefore, constituted the independent variables in the situation. To change these individuals in order to control certain aspects of the situation that impinged upon the process, would be to change materially the situation and to destroy the fidelity of the normal, natural and unaffected field setting in which the process was carried forward. As stated previously, the purpose of the study was to examine and describe the process of decision-making as it took place in a real-life situation. No attempt was made to test experimentally the effectiveness of any one particular decision process against another, nor was an attempt made to arrive at a formula for interactional behavior which, if followed, would enable the superintendent

to develop and maintain effective relationships with the members of his board. The study has explored broadly some facets of group behavior in a problem-solving situation in order to discover some of the dimensions of the interaction activity between board members themselves and between board members and the superintendent. It is hoped that some insights have been obtained into the nature of the situation in which a social group endeavors to solve the problems that confront it and how variables in the situation tend to affect the decisional outcome.

Implications for Further Research

As the study progressed, several questions arose which would seem to warrant further investigation. In some cases, the same techniques as used in this study may perhaps be adequate, while in others a greater degree of precision and sophistication appropriate to the problem may be necessary. The list given below is only suggestive and does not by any means pretend to be exhaustive.

The patterns of interaction behavior between the board members and their superintendents, in two five-man boards operating in the same community were found to be stable.

1. Would the patterns of interaction behavior tend to be the same and as stable if the size of the boards were

increased to seven or nine or eleven members each?

2. Would the patterns of interaction behavior tend to be alike and equally stable in boards of equal size but chosen from two communities differing in (a) size, (b) type - i.e. rural or urban?

3. Do role structures within the group, as that structure is expressed by the distribution of interaction between persons, tend to change with (a) the size of the group when the size and type of community is held constant, (b) the size and type of community when group size is held constant?

4. Does the pattern of interaction behavior of boards that use standing committees differ significantly from the pattern of interaction behavior of boards that do not use standing committees, assuming the boards are of equal size and similarly situated?

5. Does the use of standing committees in larger boards tend to the formation of cliques?

6. Is the formation of cliques likely to impede the effective working of board members as a committee of the whole?

7. Would the link discovered by McClelland, between Weber's self-reliance values associated with Protestantism and achievement motivation, hold true in the case of Roman

Catholic School boards and non-Roman Catholic School boards in Alberta?²

8. What is the relationship between specialized knowledge held by school board members and their participation in school board decision-making?

²David C. McClelland, "Some Social Consequences of Achievement Motivation," Readings for an Introduction to Psychology (ed.) Richard A. King (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1961).

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
QUESTIONNAIRE

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE NO. 1

The information requested is to be used as the basis for a doctoral dissertation in Education. All data will be held in the strictest confidence, and will be used only for the purpose of process analysis, rather than in identifying persons. Your name will NOT appear in print at any time in connection with this study. Please feel free to request clarification on any item that may not appear to be quite clear to you:

Directions.

There are three parts to the questionnaire. Part I deals with the rating of fellow board members as to their influence on decisions in specific areas of school board function. Part II deals with the rating of those individuals in the community that you perceive as being influential in educational affairs. Part III seeks some general information about yourself.

Please do not sign your name to the questionnaire. Use the code number appearing opposite your name in the attached list. In referring to fellow board members, do not mention them by name, but use the code number opposite the name as it appears in the attached list.

PART I

Directions: Some board members appear to be more influential than others in affecting the decisions made, regarding board policy in certain areas. From among the members of your board, indicate the one you perceive to be the most influential, next most influential and third most influential in the given decision area.

Use code numbers instead of names.

1. Teacher personnel (Salary, hiring, working conditions, leaves etc.)
 - a. Most influential _____
 - b. Next most influential _____
 - c. Third most influential _____
2. Curriculum (subjects taught, amount of experimentation, teaching methods and teaching devices, etc.)
 - a. Most influential _____
 - b. Next most influential _____
 - c. Third most influential _____
3. Sites and Buildings (type, location, repairs, architect, remodelling, etc.)
 - a. Most influential _____
 - b. Next most influential _____
 - c. Third most influential _____
4. Finance (expenditures, borrowing, budgeting, etc.)
 - a. Most influential _____
 - b. Next most influential _____
 - c. Third most influential _____
5. Community Groups (interest groups, petitions, requests for use of school facilities etc.)
 - a. Most influential _____
 - b. Next most influential _____
 - c. Third most influential _____
6. General influence (influence over many areas of board decisions)
 - a. Most influential _____
 - b. Next most influential _____
 - c. Third most influential _____

7. Which board member or members do you perceive as having the same general views on educational problems as yourself.

- a. _____
- b. _____
- c. _____

8. Other School Board

As in your own school board, there are members on the other school board who appear to be more influential than others, in affecting the decisions made by the board. Whom do you perceive to be the most influential, next most influential, third most influential?

- a. Most influential _____
- b. Next most influential _____
- c. Third most influential _____

9. The Community

If an educational issue, affecting the community should be discussed and resolved by your board, from which person or persons would you seek opinions or advice, before you make up your mind? Why?

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

PART II

1. In the community* there are individuals who, either actively or otherwise, exert considerable influence in deciding important issues on education, recreation, civic affairs, town planning and development, finance and taxation, allocation of land, etc. List the individuals you perceive to be influential in order of over all influence; specify those leaders you might have worked with, and the area of participation.

Most influential

Moderately influential

Less influential but
nevertheless have
some influence

2. Site Issue. You are familiar with the site issue in which the two school boards have been involved. Please name the persons, organizations or groups within the community and/or outside whom you perceive as being, or having been influential, to some degree, either in initiating, supporting or impeding actions which have affected the resolution of the issue.

Rate these persons in order of degree of influence, beginning with the most influential, next influential and so on.

<hr/>	<hr/>
<hr/>	<hr/>
<hr/>	<hr/>

PART III

Directions: Read the questions below and decide which statement most nearly describes you. Place a check mark in the space provided before the statement.

1. _____ Under 30 _____ 50-54
 _____ 30-34 _____ 55-60
 _____ 35-39 _____ 60-64
 _____ 45-49 _____ Over 65
2. What are the ages of your children, if any?
 _____ None
 _____ Pre school
 _____ School age (including high school)
 _____ Out of school
3. How long have you lived in this community? _____ Years
4. How long have you served on the school board? _____
Less than one year; _____ years.
5. How many years of schooling have you had?
 _____ Grades 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6,
 _____ Junior High _____ University 1, 2, 3,
 _____ High School 4, years
 _____ Trade School _____ Graduate Studies
 _____ Other:
 Specify _____
6. What is your regular occupation? _____

7. Are you self-employed? Yes ____, No ____.
8. Into which of the following income categories did your total family income (include wife's income if employed) fall?
- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| _____ \$2,000 - \$4,000 | _____ \$10,000 - \$12,000 |
| _____ \$4,000 - \$6,000 | _____ \$12,000 - \$14,000 |
| _____ \$6,000 - \$8,000 | _____ \$14,000 - \$16,000 |
| _____ \$8,000 - \$10,000 | _____ \$16,000 - \$18,000 |
9. What in your opinion are the most important responsibilities of a school trustee?

10. Do you associate frequently with any school officials, teachers or employees? Who?

11. Do you belong to any organization or activity groups? Attend? Offices? Committees? Length of Membership?

12. Do you associate frequently with any town or provincial government officials? Who?

13. Have you discussed school affairs with:

- (a) members of your family?
- (b) neighbors or friends?
- (c) teachers
- (d) School officials
- (e) town officials
- (f) provincial government officials?

14. Has any one approached you, within the last year, for advice on school affairs? Who?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE NO. 2

(Interview with those reputed to be generally influential)

1. If a troublesome educational problem involving, you and/or your children, or a friend were to arise and you desired help from the school board related to the problem, which board member or members would you like to talk with about it?

Board A

Board B

2. (a) If you were to suggest names of the most influential people in the community, or of the most respected for their opinion on community problems, what names would you put on the list?

(b) Of these people whom you have named, whom would you rate as having the most influence on decisions made in the community; whom would you rate second, third and so on.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE NO. 3

(Interview with those identified as influentially involved in the school site issue)

On the basis of contacts with several persons, you were mentioned as one who is interested in the school site issue that has faced the town council.

1. Have you been personally involved in this issue?
2. How did you first get involved in this issue? When?
3. In your opinion, what constitutes the problem?
4. What is your personal point of view relating to the solution of the problem?
5. Have you always held this point of view? If not, then how does your present opinion differ from the one you held formerly?
6. What brought about the change in your point of view?
7. What other group or groups do you think support your point of view?
8. Specifically, why do you hold your present point of view?
9. Suppose your point of view and your solution to the problem were accepted, how would this affect other groups that are vitally interested in the issue?
10. How have you attempted to influence the final decisions on the school site issue?
11. How effective do you consider your efforts to have been?
12. On what basis do you evaluate the effectiveness of your efforts?
13. In your opinion what other groups, besides the school boards and the town council have been interested in this issue?

14. As you see the situation, what solution to the problem do each of these groups propose? For what reasons?

15. How have these groups sought to influence the final decision?

16. In your opinion, how successful have these groups been in their efforts to affect the final decision?

17. Further comments?

APPENDIX B

THE PROBABILITY OF THE NUMBER OF TRANSPOSITIONS BEING
EQUAL TO OR LESS THAN N FOR FIVE THREE-ITEM ROWS
WHEN ALL ARRANGEMENTS ARE EQUALLY LIKELY*

THE PROBABILITY OF THE NUMBER OF TRANSPOSITIONS BEING
EQUAL TO OR LESS THAN N FOR FIVE THREE-ITEM ROWS
WHEN ALL ARRANGEMENTS ARE EQUALLY LIKELY*

N	p.	N	p.
15	1.000	7	.500
14	.999(9)	6	.322
13	.998	5	.177
12	.992	4	.080
11	.971	3	.029
10	.919	2	.008
9	.823	1	.001
8	.667	0	.000(1)

*Source: Robert F. Bales and Fred L. Stodtbeck,
"Phases in Group Problem Solving," Journal of Abnormal and
Social Psychology, SLVI(1951), p. 492.

APPENDIX C

BALES' INDICES OF ACCESS TO RESOURCES AND DEGREE OF CONTROL

BALES' INDICES OF ACCESS TO RESOURCES
AND DEGREE OF CONTROL

(a) Index of Direct Access to Resources

$$(\text{CR index}) = \frac{\bar{c}_i}{\bar{C}} \times 100$$

(b) Index of Indirect Access to Resources

$$(\text{BR index}) = \frac{\bar{b}_i}{\bar{b}_i + c_i} \times \frac{\bar{b}_i}{B} \times 100$$

(c) Index of Degree of Control

$$(\text{ADR index}) = \frac{b_i}{B} \times \frac{\bar{a}_i}{a_i + d_i} \times 100$$

\bar{a}_i = All acts in sub-area A received by the ith individual.

\bar{c}_i = All acts in sub-area C received by the ith individual.

\bar{b}_i = All acts in sub-area B received by the ith individual.

b_i = All acts in sub-area B initiated by the ith individual.

c_i = All acts in sub-area C initiated by the ith individual.

B = All acts in sub-area B initiated by all individuals.

\bar{C} = All acts in sub-area C received by all individuals.

General Status Index = $\frac{\text{CR index} + \text{BR index} + \text{ADR index}}{3}$

APPENDIX D

DISTRIBUTION BY CATEGORIES OF INTERACTIONS
INITIATED AND RECEIVED BY PARTICIPANTS IN
SCHOOL BOARD MEETINGS

DISTRIBUTION BY CATEGORIES OF INTERACTIONS
INITIATED AND RECEIVED BY PARTICIPANTS IN
ROMAN CATHOLIC PUBLIC SCHOOL BOARD MEETINGS

Cate- gory	Individual Members of the Group							Whole Group	Others
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
1. I	7	12	-	-	4	5	-	-	-
R	1	-	-	3	2	9	2	9	2
2. I	5	14	3	1	16	6	1	-	1
R	4	4	-	2	4	4	1	26	2
3. I	42	34	16	9	16	17	5	-	2
R	31	16	12	2	23	24	9	22	2
4. I	55	62	38	5	48	57	8	-	4
R	74	16	8	-	6	32	12	125	4
5. I	152	319	76	46	159	270	26	-	41
R	207	178	37	19	82	130	44	379	13
6. I	378	485	186	38	154	736	207	-	147
R	274	368	101	44	187	146	62	1138	11
7. I	105	151	48	22	90	39	26	-	2
R	101	40	9	2	14	136	72	54	55
8. I	108	88	16	6	41	46	7	-	-
R	39	35	8	9	17	59	10	123	12
9. I	31	8	-	-	3	14	3	-	4
R	11	2	1	-	3	-	-	42	4
10. I	4	13	4	3	9	7	1	-	-
R	3	16	3	1	5	6	1	6	-
11. I	-	2	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
R	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-
12. I	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Total									
I	889	1188	387	131	540	1197	285	-	201
R	746	675	180	82	343	546	213	1928	105
% of Total									
I	19.97	22.55	8.48	2.87	11.47	27.49	5.04	-	2.13
R	16.58	12.27	3.67	1.88	6.85	10.91	3.79	42.95	1.11

DISTRIBUTION BY CATEGORIES OF INTERACTIONS
INITIATED AND RECEIVED BY PARTICIPANTS IN
PROTESTANT SEPARATE SCHOOL BOARD MEETINGS

Cate- gory	Individual Members of the Group							Whole Group	Others
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
1. I	18	2	2	6	1	-	1	-	2
R	2	1	-	-	1	4	2	21	1
2. I	12	16	3	18	11	5	7	-	2
R	10	5	2	2	6	7	6	35	1
3. I	51	32	11	9	22	14	4	-	9
R	21	26	11	16	24	16	9	20	9
4. I	106	48	14	48	69	24	22	-	5
R	84	10	7	6	20	19	42	142	6
5. I	281	242	96	191	302	191	159	-	87
R	420	103	39	98	143	125	118	438	65
6. I	612	413	129	365	502	608	775	-	235
R	741	296	78	215	367	202	210	1419	111
7. I	150	143	36	43	149	18	51	-	24
R	106	24	7	22	31	144	148	58	74
8. I	127	19	18	20	49	9	29	-	3
R	37	13	5	8	20	31	15	125	20
9. I	38	2	1	1	1	4	5	-	1
R	5	1	-	2	1	-	-	44	-
10. I	18	26	8	22	11	8	9	-	3
R	27	12	3	18	9	10	17	4	5
11. I	-	-	1	4	-	-	3	-	-
R	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
12. I	2	3	1	-	1	-	7	-	-
R	2	-	-	2	6	-	1	1	2
Total									
I	1415	946	320	727	1118	881	1072	-	371
R	1457	494	152	389	628	558	568	2310	294
% of Total									
I	1803	1347	568	1228	1584	1270	1536	-	664
R	1885	789	266	557	751	792	761	3656	543

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